"WAYS THAT ARE DARK"

W. Gilbert Walshe, M.A.

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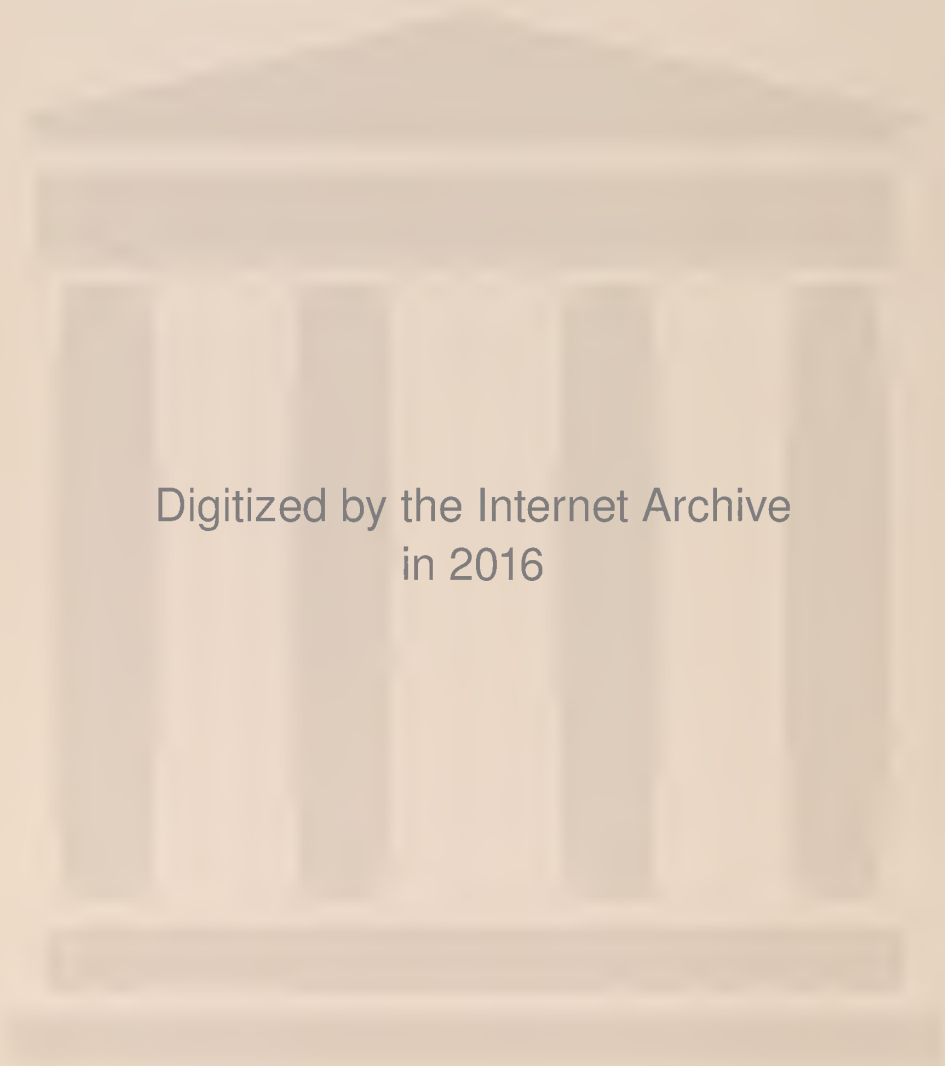

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CHINESE BRIDE DRESSED TO RECEIVE VISITORS (*see p.* 113).

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"Ways that are Dark"

Some Chapters on Chinese Etiquette and Social Procedure

By

W. Gilbert Walshe, M.A.

Editorial Secretary of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese etc.

KELLY AND WALSH, LIMITED

SHANGHAI, HONGKONG, SINGAPORE & YOKOHAMA

PRINTED BY
HAZELL, WATSON AND VINEY, LD.,
LONDON AND AYLESBURY.

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PREFACE

"Foreigners" in China (the popular term for non-Chinese is not used in any offensive sense, but is intended to include Americans and others who can hardly be described as "Europeans" or "Westerners") are sometimes heard to speak contemptuously of the Chinese language, literature, and ideas, as unworthy of serious consideration, and adopt an attitude of insolent insularity towards the Chinese, disregarding their most cherished preconceptions, and remaining studiously indifferent to their social usages—an attitude which has produced most deplorable results in China, as indeed it was bound to do in a country so proud of its traditional observances, and so satisfied with its, in some respects, high standard of civilisation. The "foreigners" continued wilfully ignorant of Chinese ideas and methods, and took little pains to exhibit their own to the best advantage, with the result that both parties have maintained an attitude of armed neutrality; and mutual

misunderstanding, instead of decreasing, has only deepened throughout the long period of their international relations. The conciliation of the Chinese, and the leading of them to a right appreciation of Western civilisation and Christian ideals are desiderata of the utmost importance, the accomplishment of which is being indefinitely postponed by the inattention to Chinese canons of good taste, etc., which has been for so long a feature of European and American conduct in China.

The importance of the subject may be illustrated by a quotation from a number of *The Times Weekly* lately to hand, in which a Chinese gentleman of European reputation is represented as saying: "I have lived in Paris. I was considered by your best compatriots as their equal. Here [*i.e.* in Shanghai], because I happen to be a Chinaman, I am forbidden to go to the club or to set foot in the public garden, under penalty of being ignominiously expelled if I venture there. Our great merchants and our bankers . . . are not allowed to treat directly with the heads of your business firms. They are obliged, like so many coolies, to wait for their turn in the bureau of the comprador. . . . All this involves a series of intolerable vexations which estranges from you the heart of the Chinese more than anything else. The remedy would

require a complete change of method. . . Habits have been formed, and the mischief has been done. This is why, for a very long time, you will continue to be inevitably looked upon by my compatriots as enemies." And to show that this attitude is not peculiar to commercial circles, I may quote from a paper by Mr. Tong Kai-son in *The Chinese Recorder*, in which he says: "Perhaps the most trying experiences the [native] pastor has to encounter are in his relations with his foreign colleagues, who in many instances assume the rôle of masters and employers, treating their assistants more like servants and inferiors than co-workers. This is especially true in the treaty ports, where the missionary, through association with worldly-minded foreigners, becomes imbued with the spirit of racial pride, and regards the Chinese as men of an inferior race, to whom social equality could only be accorded at the sacrifice of dignity and prestige."

How far these criticisms are true it is not my purpose at present to discuss, but I may permit myself to say that the evil which is deprecated arises largely from a non-observance of Chinese ceremonial forms—a non-observance which is the result of ignorance of these forms. The "foreigner" does not know what is the right thing to do under certain circumstances, and, fearing to "make an ass of himself," does nothing,

thinking that by inaction he may escape the undignified character which he fears he may assume, but, as a matter of fact, appearing to even greater disadvantage, for even "barbarians" are known to possess some social conceptions, and if the "foreigner" betrays ignorance of Chinese methods, and is too self-conscious to avail himself of his own native code of politeness, he is likely to be regarded by his Chinese acquaintances as a "heathen man and a publican," devoid alike of moral consciousness and gentlemanly instincts; and perhaps he is not altogether wrong in the apprehension of appearing an ass by contrast with his host, for an ancient seer, when foretelling the Manchu invasion and the imposition of the Manchu costume upon the Chinese people, described the future conquerors of the country as horse-like creatures; the curious cuffs of the official jacket representing the "hoofs" (which is, indeed, the actual name applied to them—"Horse-hoofs"); the horse-hair plume of the ceremonial hat representing the mane; the queue forming the tail; and the smoke from the Manchu tobacco-pipe suggesting the fiery breath of the monster.

The following chapters were written at the request of the Mid-China Church Missionary Conference for the guidance of missionaries newly arrived in China, it being felt that a better acquaintance with Chinese social methods

might prevent many unfortunate blunders and much mutual misunderstanding between the missionaries and the Chinese.

A study of the subject, with a view to preparing such a work, suggested a somewhat larger scope, which would include not only a treatment of matters more directly connected with missionary operations, but also of questions which are of general interest to residents in the interior of China, and those at the treaty ports, who in various ways are brought into contact with Chinese officials, gentry, and people.

The subject is such a wide one that an exhaustive treatment of it within the limits of a small volume can hardly be expected, and the writer has limited himself to those phases of Chinese etiquette and social custom of which a slight knowledge appears to him to be essential to harmonious relations.

Social methods may vary in different localities, and the resident, who happens to be also a student of the Chinese language, should seek the advice of his "writer" or "teacher" with reference to the several branches of the subject as they apply in his locality; but in cases where such assistance is not obtainable, the methods suggested in the following pages will be found to be generally applicable. The title which has been selected must not be misconstrued as im-

plying any uncharitable strictures upon Chinese institutions; and "dark" must not be considered as a synonym for "shady"! Had such an implication been intended, the second clause of Bret Harte's famous line would have been more apropos, and "Tricks that are Vain" might have been indicated, for which, as the American poet would have us understand, the "Heathen Chinee is peculiar"—a generalisation to which serious exception might be taken.

So far from attempting to deride or belittle the old-established and, in many cases, admirable institutions of the Chinese people, my special object is to solicit a more particular attention to the usages of Chinese polite society, and to bespeak a more sympathetic and appreciative recognition of their social conceptions than at present obtains in some—I might venture to say, in many quarters.

The point of view which is adopted is that of the Chinese, rather than that of the "foreigner"; and the question which is raised is, "What do the Chinese expect of us who pretend to a civilisation equal to, if not superior to, their own?" That is the great question for those of us who wish to conciliate the Chinese. We may be perfectly satisfied with ourselves and our own methods, but do our attitude and our conduct appear to Chinese eyes worthy of a civilised people?

That is the point; for if what we do, or fail to do, makes us appear as barbarians, from their standpoint, then we can hardly expect to find favour with the Chinese, or treat with them on equal terms, and, least of all, induce them to accept our standards. This is a consideration which should weigh not only with Christian propagandists, but equally with diplomatists and the representatives of commerce, for the issues involved are not merely of local importance, but even of international moment.

W. G. W.

SHANGHAI.

WAYS THAT ARE DARK

INTRODUCTION

Chinese canons of politeness differ from those of the West in some essential particulars, and require special study on the part of those who are brought into contact with the Chinese officials and people. Where such study is impossible, or at least difficult, as in the case of transient visitors, the foreigner may obviate to some extent the appearance of utter barbarism, by acting, in such situations, according to the code of polite procedure which is generally accepted in Western countries; avoiding an air of patronage towards inferiors, and of subservience towards superiors. One of the "Four Books" of the Chinese classics, which is generally known as the "Doctrine of the Mean," is devoted to the consideration of this topic, and emphasises the importance of right relations between the ideal scholar and those above and below him in the social order.

Let it not be supposed, therefore, that a subject, considered as of such consequence among the Chinese, can be treated as a matter of indifference by European and American residents in the

country, and, least of all, by those who have constant relations with the Chinese people. Our national prestige may suffer as a consequence of ignorance or seeming rudeness on the part of our national representatives, though occupying subordinate positions in outlying consulates or other posts. The cause of Christianity may be hindered by carelessness or neglect on the part of missionaries, who often are the only representatives of the West residing in inland cities. The importance of an adequate knowledge of the Chinese language in both cases is properly recognised, and a sufficient acquaintance with Chinese canons of etiquette should be insisted upon as of equal importance. Every student of the language knows that Chinese spoken according to the English idiom would be only ridiculous, and it would be almost equally absurd to address Chinese in their own language without some attention to the national forms of ceremony.

Every resident in China should make himself acquainted with the irreducible minimum of conformity in such cases, and with missionaries such a study should be regarded as a religious duty.

The advice of the Chinese "teacher" should be requisitioned in all doubtful cases, and many matters of detail should be delegated to him. The folding of a letter in an unparliamentary form may be a cause of grave offence, and the art of letter-writing would require a volume to itself. Such subjects as these come properly within the "teacher's" province, and are therefore not dealt with in these pages.

I

PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND ATTITUDE

It must not be supposed that because untidy and unwashed Chinese are frequently met with, the foreign resident in China may, to some extent, relax that scrupulous regard for personal cleanliness and attention to toilet which is considered *de rigueur* in his own country. Though careless in regard to details, he may consider himself still far superior to the majority of his "native" acquaintances, but he cannot do so with impunity —such irregularities will be quickly noticed, for the Chinese have a high regard for cleanliness, though they do not always attain to their ideal. It is recorded of a certain king, T'ang by name, that he had inscribed upon his bath-tub the motto, "If you can renovate yourself one day, do so every day and for ever," and the philosophy of King T'ang has not by any means been forgotten.

The families in a certain foreign "compound" in China were distinguished by their respective servants as the "bath-a-day people," the "bath-a-week people," and the "bath-a-year people"; and it may be taken for granted that scrupulous regard to

personal cleanliness and correct attire will not be lost upon the Chinese. Foreigners should therefore avoid the collarless, uncombed, unbrushed, unpared condition which is sometimes adopted, as it is certain to issue in loss of prestige and influence.

There are quite enough peculiarities in the foreigner's appearance, and he is already sufficiently disreputable in Chinese eyes, without the further addition of native idiosyncrasies; and there are certain features which may easily be avoided, in deference to Chinese prejudice, without involving any great hardship. It has been remarked of some missionaries who adopt what they call "native dress," that though willing to doff their own distinctive costume, and even go so far as to grow the "pig-tail"—the badge of Manchu conquest—they are not always prepared to resign the ornamental moustache, though such a decoration is utterly incompatible with their youthful appearance; for in China the moustache is seldom cultivated before the age of forty, and, in fact, more usually fifty (except in the case of medical practitioners, who wish to impress their clients with the appearance of age and consequent experience). Not only so, but so long as one's father is alive it is inadmissible to grow any hair on the face. The beard is not allowed to grow until the age of fifty is reached, and modern fashion tends to postpone the period for another ten years. The cultivation of side-whiskers, whilst preserving a clean chin, seems most grotesque to the Chinese, and suggests the

appearance of "love-locks" hanging down a woman's face; whilst the shaving of the upper lip alone, *à la* the respectable British carpenter, is calculated to excite irrepressible amusement.

In sitting and standing one should be circumspect; in these matters the Chinese are very particular. Leaning the elbow on the table, lounging or spreading the feet widely apart, or crossing the legs, should be avoided. The feet should be planted firmly on the ground, whether sitting or standing; in the former position men keep their knees apart, women close together.

When standing, the correct attitude is that of "attention!" the arms hanging straight at the sides; the legs should be kept more or less rigid, and no limpness or invertebrateness be exhibited.

On entering a room where a number of persons are present, it is not necessary to bow to each individually; a separate bow to right and left will be sufficient. If a particular friend happens to be in the apartment, he may advance a couple of paces to meet the visitor; the latter may also take two steps forward, and mutual greetings with upraised hands then be exchanged.

The seat of honour is on the left hand of the host, but the visitor must be careful not to accept the highest place with a too easy complacency, especially if other guests are present, and must only accept the position indicated after due remonstrance and a show of unwillingness to accept the unmerited compliment.

In reply to questions, the answers should be framed in terms similar to those in which the

question is put—*e.g.* to the query "Have you eaten your rice?" instead of replying "Yes," or "No," it is correct to say, "I have [or, have not] eaten my rice," and similarly in other cases as far as possible.

The Chinese have no hesitation in addressing questions to their visitors which to our ideas would appear embarrassing and even impertinent. To such it is necessary to return a polite answer, though, happily, it is not necessary to furnish the exact particulars which seem to be demanded; for instance, if you are met with the inquiry "Where are you going?" it is quite admissible to reply, "I am here." If you are asked the amount of your income, and are not prepared to state the exact figures, you may say, "It does not amount to very much," or, "It is sufficient for my needs," or give some equally ambiguous reply. If the question of age comes up and you are diffident about revealing the "days of the years of your pilgrimage," you may remark that you are "over" twenty or thirty, or whatever figure may suit your purpose. A certain lady of uncertain age arrived in China some forty years ago, and announced that she was "over thirty" to a friendly inquiry after her "honourable age," and to the end of her days in China, some twenty-eight years or more, she still continued to reply in the blandest manner, "Over thirty!"

With regard to head-covering, it may be said that the foreigner is generally safe in wearing his hat when paying a visit to a Chinese friend, provided the article in question is of a presentable

character; it would be hardly polite to retain a cap of the "deerstalker" variety, for instance, as the Chinese have marked distinctions between the varieties of headgear which are considered "dress" or "undress." The common round cap of satin is worn within doors during the colder weather, and its use in the house is quite allowable; but it would not be proper to appear before the magistrate in this attire, nor would it be correct to retain under such circumstances the commoner felt cap which is worn by artisans and countrymen. The gaily coloured hood is also discarded in the house. The ceremonial hat is allowable on all occasions, whether in the house or out of doors; and though a head-covering of felt is considered in China to be *infra dig.*, yet the foreigner will be given credit for at least attempting to present a decent appearance, who dons a respectable "bowler" or a clerical hat of similar material. The silk hat is, practically, "out of court," for climatic reasons, and therefore is not considered in this connection, though, no doubt, its appearance would strike the Chinese with something approaching awe, and suggest the presence of a follower of the Dalai Lama, whose retinue is famous for the variety and grotesqueness of its head-dress.

In Chinese society certain observances are still in vogue which have long disappeared from polite circles in the West. These are not easy to describe except at the risk of offending the susceptibilities of the refined reader. Let it suffice to say that certain natural functions con-

nected with the organs of respiration and deglutition are allowed free and ample scope! The stranger may regard such exhibitions with mingled feelings, but he must not be altogether surprised when he reflects that such practices were not unknown in the West at a time not very remote. It is hardly necessary to say that he will himself refrain from any countenance to such proceedings, and it may be some gratification to him to learn that his own abstention will evoke favourable comment on the part of his Chinese friends, who will admiringly ask how he manages to suppress inclinations which to them appear to be incontrollable.

On receiving visitors, or in meeting them at the house of another, it is necessary to rise from one's seat in acknowledgment of their presence, and to resume one's seat only when they have taken, or are about to take, their places. There are various degrees of respect which may be thus shown, and the character and position of the guest will suggest to what extent one should thus bestir himself. The rule also applies when one or other of the company present rises from his seat, for whatever purpose; the host should also rise and remain standing until the guest resumes his seat; and the guest should act in a similar manner when the host vacates his chair even for a moment.

In handing anything to an equal or superior it is necessary to use both hands; it would be impolite to offer anything with one hand only except to an inferior. According to Chinese ancient etiquette, the hands of men and women

should not touch when passing things to one another.

In matters where the foreigner may be in doubt he will be guided by that sense of decorum which obtains in polite society in his own country, and good breeding will suggest where a knowledge of the native etiquette may be deficient.

It may be as well to bear in mind the significance of certain colours in connection with articles of dress, etc. Yellow is the Imperial colour, red the colour of virgin youth, of good fortune, and official rank. White is consecrated to mourning; only undergarments are ordinarily made in this colour. Blue is also a mourning colour, and is worn during the transition stage before the ordinary garments are readopted after a period of mourning. It is also the colour, though in a different shade, which marks the sedan-chair of a minor official. Green, also associated with virginity, is adopted by higher officials as the colour of their sedan-chairs. Light brown is used for visiting cards during the period of mourning for a parent. Mauve is the colour of the seals of the highest officials. Black is associated with almost everything evil, and, strangely enough, is also regarded as an emblem of purity from the fact that it does not show the dirt!

Fans are used almost universally during the warm weather, and there are special patterns which match certain forms of dress; thus, during the summer, the round, stiff fan, made of silk stretched on a bamboo frame, is almost inseparably associated with the light gown of grasscloth

combined with green gauze skirt. The pattern of the fan adopted by the foreigner should be made a matter of consultation with his "teacher," and it will be found a good plan to allow the latter to make the selection. According to strict etiquette, subordinates are not permitted to use a fan during an interview with a superior, no matter what the temperature may be.

As in the matter of donning and doffing the hat at stated times, there is also a set time when fans may be put into use, and also when they should be discarded. To use a fan either before the usual time, or to continue the use of them after the date for putting them aside, would be considered as ridiculous as wearing an "autumn hat" in summer. An "after-autumn fan" is a synonym for something discarded as useless. In the south, however, certain kinds of fans may be used at any period of the year, and others are intended for use only at certain seasons.

The writing of mottoes and complimentary effusions, and painting of flowers, landscapes, etc., on fans is a favourite occupation of Chinese scholars, and such mementoes are frequently interchanged by friends. The gift of a fan so embellished generally indicates that a return in kind is expected, and the foreigner who can present an equivalent, exhibiting his own skill in this department, will rise very highly in the estimation of his Chinese friends.

Ta Ts'ien, or Military Genuflexion: Inferior kneeling on Right Knee, and touching the Ground with Right Hand.

II

IN THE STREET

To the resident in China few graces are of more importance than that of affability and good temper, which the Chinese combine in one word, *ho*, 和, commonly translated "harmony," and which they consider the most admirable product of the laws of courtesy. He who is not blessed with this gift by nature, or is unable to cultivate it, will find it difficult to make his way with the Chinese people; whilst he who is thus endowed will be able to exert a great influence over them. In walking through the streets of a Chinese city, the foreign visitor or resident should remember the photographer's advice, and look as pleasant as possible. If people are rude to him, he should try to overlook it; if children call him "Ocean Demon" (洋鬼子), or by any other popular phrase (by "popular" I do not mean popular amongst the called, but amongst the callers), he should not menace them with his walking-stick, but appear as if he had not heard; or, if desirous of putting an end to the objectionable practice, he should appeal to some respectable old gentleman standing

by to teach the youngster to amend his ways. In a word, he should look and act in as "friendly" a way as possible, and avoid all appearance of aggressiveness or super-sensitiveness. This will enable him to overcome many disabilities.

In walking in the street he should not go "at the rate of a hunt," but quietly and soberly, standing aside to allow heavily-burdened coolies or chair-bearers to pass.

The conduct of street traffic in China, where there is no policeman to direct and control the "living stream," depends upon the observance of certain recognised rules which are worthy of careful note. The first principle to be remembered is that way must be made by the more mobile body for that which is less easily moved; thus in the case of a long procession, such as that of a wedding party, some religious celebration, or the heterogeneous following of an official, everything else must stand aside to allow the unwieldy assemblage to pass. A mounted man takes precedence of a passenger in a sedan-chair, since the latter is supposed to be more easily controlled than a possibly restive horse. An empty sedan-chair gives way to one which is occupied. A coolie bearing a load staggers to one side to allow a chair to pass, but all unladen pedestrians must yield the right of road to the load-carrying coolie—an excellent rule, and one which appeals to every one who has any sense of compassion for these poor human "beasts of burden." The foreigner who declines to submit to these unwritten laws

will take a very low place in the estimation of the Chinese, and no doubt it must seem incongruous, to say the least, that the man who professes such high humanitarian instincts as the Westerner should show himself so unyielding and arbitrary in instances such as these. When people happen to collide, or accidentally jostle one another, it is usual for each to say, "It's my fault"—literally, "I have incriminated myself."

The literary man walks slowly along, his arms hanging easily by his sides, not swinging loosely, nor tucked into the pockets or opposite sleeves. The head is slightly bent as in deference, and the eyes are not allowed to wander, but are directed to the ground some ten paces ahead. He should not indulge in retrospection, but keep "eyes front." He should not stand idly gazing at anything which has attracted a crowd, but should pass on, after glancing for a moment, perhaps, at the object of interest, whether an *al fresco* play, or juggler, or street incident of whatever kind. Peepshows he should most carefully eschew; they are almost invariably indecent. If he should happen to meet a friend, he should stand for a moment to inquire after his honourable household, and make a few polite remarks, such as, "I haven't seen you for a long time"; "Where are you going?" etc. If, however, the friend should be an official, riding in his chair, he must either turn up a side street or into a shop; or, in default of these resources, should turn his back and look the other way, or screen his face with his fan, if he is carrying one—

for it would not be "good form" for the official to salute him with a nod, and etiquette would require that the rider should descend from his chair, which would be in every way inconvenient. Amongst the articles carried by the attendants of high officials are some fans of gigantic proportions, which are intended for use in the event of two trains meeting on the road, in which case the attendants hurry forward to interpose the fans between the chairs as they pass, and thus prevent mutual recognition on the part of the officers.

Should the pedestrian meet an official whom he does not recognise, he should stand aside, with a respectful gesture, until the chair has passed on its way; to point, or smile, or peep, or talk at the moment, would be exceedingly rude. This is very important, for, though the official may not appear to have observed the "foreigner," he will be sure to make inquiries on his return to the yamen—as the official residence is called, a combination of dwelling and court-house—and his conclusions with regard to foreigners in general, and this foreigner in particular, will be influenced very largely by his first impressions.

I have referred to the walking-stick, which some residents in China seem to regard as an inseparable companion; and I am tempted to make the remark that it would be a good thing if the same could be conveniently dispensed with. To the Chinese the carrying of a staff, by people in the prime of life, is an anomaly which they can only explain by the theory that the staff indicates official position, or, more popularly, that it is

intended for beating dogs, and hence it is often called 打狗棒, or "dog-beating staff." With regard to the first, it might not be considered as altogether uncomplimentary; but the second, and by far the most common explanation, classes foreigners with the other dog-beaters—*i.e.* the beggars, who also carry staves or other implements to protect themselves; and the dogs themselves also appear to agree in this classification, as they generally present their salutations to beggars and foreigners, making no invidious distinctions between the classes!

Now, dogs may not be beaten with impunity in China, and if the foreigner applies his staff to the hide of a "domestic dog," he will not rise in the estimation of the owners; and for this reason he will be well advised if he leaves his "staff" at home, and he will probably find that the dogs will trouble him less if he is thus unprotected than they would if he went "armed." This, however, is a "counsel of perfection." There may be cases when it is absolutely necessary to protect oneself; but yet one may remember that ladies are equally exposed as men, and are generally "unarmed."

It is quite possible that the foreigner who does not protect himself with a walking-stick may be bitten by some savage watch-dog, but he may console himself with the thought that a remedy is at hand. All that is necessary is to obtain some rice and sugar from the household to which the dog belongs, and apply a poultice of these to the wound. This application will be found to be a "sovereign balm"; but it is necessary that the

materials should come from the dog's home, and not from any other household. The foreigner may therefore rest assured that his conscientious observance of Chinese etiquette, in this respect, will not expose him to danger without providing an infallible remedy!

A staff for a young or middle-aged person is in China, practically, a contradiction in terms. The ancient rule was that a man of sixty might be entitled to carry a staff for support within the limits of his own village or small town; at seventy he might use his staff as far as the confines of his own state; and at eighty he might go so far as to appear at Court thus supported. From this it will be seen that the privilege of using a walking-stick was strictly limited; and, in fact, so closely are age and the walking-stick associated, that "old man" and "staff" are sometimes used as synonymous terms—*cf.* 杖 = a staff, and the same character repeated with the character 者, giving it a personal signification = a "staffer," *i.e.* an old man.

It is not seemly for the scholar to appear in full dress, bearing a parcel of whatever kind; but an exception is made in the early morning, when he may sally forth in morning costume to pick up some appetising trifle in the market, and carry it home *in propria persona*. A fan, and possibly an umbrella, are perhaps the only things with which a gentleman burdens himself; other things are committed to the care of a servant. Whistling, singing, or even humming some favourite air, are all inconsistent with genteel behaviour when abroad.

In some places there are few opportunities afforded to the foreign resident for taking exercise, and he is almost forced to betake himself to the top of the city wall, where he can enjoy privacy, air, and, sometimes, a good view; but in places where the houses are built close up to the walls, and access is possible from this vantage-ground, the foreigner must be careful not to create suspicion of felonious intent. In some cities there is an inner path between the wall and the buildings, and in such cases no difficulty need exist—the Chinese do not seem to fear overlooking from superstitious so much as from practical motives; but it would be a safe plan in each case to learn the temper of the people before attempting such excursions, as it is quite possible, in some out-of-the-way cities, the people might suspect some malignant design on the part of the foreigner who was frequently noticed perambulating the city wall.

In cases of street brawls, where large crowds congregate, it is safer to take a circuitous route rather than attempt to force a passage through, and this for various reasons—*e.g.* if the foreigner should thus be seen tightly wedged in the middle of a crowd, he might be regarded, by new arrivals on the scene, as being the cause of the trouble; or his presence and helplessness might be an incentive to some cowardly person to begin an attack upon him, and administer "a stab in the dark"; not to mention the dangers he may run, from a hygienic standpoint, in thus "rubbing shoulders" with the anything but "aseptic" specimens which

all such crowds contain. An inquisitive spirit is also to be deprecated, and it will be more seemly to remain in ignorance than to inquire of bystanders the reason of the disturbance, or endeavour to take a hand. It is sometimes difficult for a foreigner to restrain himself when he sees what he imagines to be an instance of "gross injustice"; but possibly he may only exaggerate that injustice by insisting upon interfering.

A morbid curiosity should also be avoided—it is astonishing what an attraction such subjects as mutilated coffins or dismantled graves possess in the estimation of some foreigners. To "globe-trotters," especially, this attraction amounts almost to a fascination, and they are with difficulty dissuaded from satisfying the "lust of the eye" in such melancholy curiosities; but the danger of indulging such propensities will be evident when it is pointed out that, for years past, numberless rumours have been in circulation, charging Europeans with the crime of extracting the pelvic bones from female corpses for medicinal purposes: many instances have been related by Chinese "gossips" where the clothing and jewellery were found intact, and only certain bones were missing from the coffin; thus proving conclusively that plunder was not the object in view, and that some occult motive must be sought for; and the suggestion that the hand of the foreigner was manifest in the proceedings was universally accepted as the best, and, in fact, the only, solution of the mystery.

Care should also be exercised in the use of the photographic camera, especially where large crowds are assembled, as on the occasion of a procession or other popular celebration. Such functions are generally managed by people of questionable character, and attract large numbers of the rowdy and vagabond classes, as well as the country folks from far and near. These latter have often an invincible repugnance to being photographed, believing firmly that in the chemical process by which the portrait is produced, a certain element called "golden essence" is employed, and which is evidently confounded with the "silver bath" used for sensitising photographic plates and paper. Now, this golden essence is supposed to be identical with a certain cooling medicine, which is said to be very efficacious in complaints arising from vitiated blood, and which is collected from the fluid which oozes out of cess-pools, percolating through the surrounding soil; and hence it is maintained that to expose oneself to the camera is equivalent to having this offensive fluid dashed upon one's face, which would have the effect of ruining one's luck; and, as a natural consequence, the unsophisticated countryman objects very strongly to exposing himself to such a hazardous experiment; and not only so, but the more dangerous elements in the crowd may be encouraged to attack the rash photographer and destroy his apparatus; and there will be little hope of obtaining compensation from the magistrate, or the conviction of the offenders, on account of the difficulty of identification under such cir-

cumstances, and the manifest unwisdom of the foreigner in thus exposing himself to danger and popular resentment.

It may be worth while remarking, in connection with this idea of defilement and its influence upon one's fortune, that the Chinese will not walk under a soiled garment which is hung out to dry, be it ever so high above their heads; and garments pertaining to the opposite sexes, more especially the bifurcated garment, are not washed in the same tub for this reason.

In asking the way to a place, it is unsafe and inexpedient to inquire of wayfarers; the proper plan is to inquire of the proprietor of the first shop one comes to, or of the workers in the fields, if the place happens to be in the country; and, in asking, one should be very respectful, for the shopkeeper does not depend upon giving geographical directions as a means of livelihood; and there is a strong temptation to send "on a false scent" the man who rudely and cavalierly demands direction of one who is under no obligation to direct him. The proper form of inquiry is something like this: "Venerable sir, how do you go to such a place?" (老先生某地從那裏去), making at the same time a respectful gesture with the hands raised together to the breast (拱). If riding at the time, the inquirer should dismount, or at least make some apology for not doing so, before seeking direction. Avoid asking young people, who are often either ignorant or inclined to "play tricks on travellers"; and it is inexpedient to speak to women, as that might be open to mis-

construction. Wayfarers are to be avoided, as there are often questionable characters among them, and they may be tempted to beguile the questioner into a convenient solitude, where he may be relieved of the silver which he is generally supposed to possess. It may be worth observing that it is inadvisable to let people know the fact of your possessing silver or valuables, especially in solitary places, where the evil-disposed may be tempted to make an attack upon the traveller. For this reason it is a good plan to be provided with some small "change" for petty disbursements, so as to avoid having recourse to the packet of dollars or other store which you may be forced to carry with you.

In calling at a house and finding the door ajar, the proper thing is to step inside and call out loudly the name of the person whose presence is desired. If no response is given, the visitor should not venture to intrude further, but retire to the outside of the door and, closing it as before, wait for some time in the hope of meeting some member of the household. The reason for this procedure is that, in the one case, an unexpected entrance upon the domestic privacy may take some of the female members of the family by surprise, and the visitor thus find himself in an ambiguous position; whilst, in the other case, his discovery of the fact that the gate is unbarred may suggest a possibility of "loot" to the evil-disposed, and the visitor may thus do his friend an injury, not to mention the possibility of being himself accused of helping himself to some of the missing articles.

If a voice responds to his inquiry, but no person appears, he should close the door as before and take his stand in the first hall of the house, and there await the coming of his host, not venturing to take a seat until invited to do so. Unless in the case of important affairs, he should not make a call in the early morning or late at night.

In passing through the street at night he should be preceded by a servant carrying a lantern; this is necessary, not only because of the difficulty of walking on the badly-paved streets through which he must pass, but also in order to avoid being "held up" at the various "gates" which divide the different wards of the city, where watchmen are stationed, whose business it is to challenge all night-walkers and suspicious characters. The lantern should have the owner's name written or painted on it, except in the case of a "foreign" lantern, the possession of which will be a sufficient guarantee of respectability.

The carrying of the lantern will also rebut the suspicions which would be excited should the foreigner be observed "prowling about in the dark." Servants should not be permitted to use the master's lantern when making night excursions on their own account.

In places when the city gates are shut at night, and an official notice is posted to the effect that the gates must not be opened, though foreigners have usually little difficulty in "squaring" the gatekeepers and effecting an entrance or exit, the practice is not altogether straightforward, and is likely to invite unfavourable comment. In

such cases it would be better to inform the official concerned of the necessity which exists, and obtain his formal sanction to the opening of the gate when necessary. This application may be made in the interests of all the foreigners resident in the city, and not necessarily in each individual case.

In visiting "temples" of whatever kind, and observing the crudities of worship, etc., do not allow your sense of humour to betray itself, but make your observations with a quiet and, if it may be, saddened mien. Do not attempt to "poke fun" at the idols; but, if you wish to impress the people with the futility of their confidence in them, inquire of some respectable bystander how it comes to pass, for instance, that figures of divinities altogether unconnected with Buddhism are given a place in Buddhist temples, which ought not to contain any object of worship whatever, to say nothing of local celebrities such as 關帝 (Kwan-ti, the God of War), etc. This will involve a knowledge of the different "gods" and their histories, as well as an acquaintance with the respective religions, and this should be regarded by missionaries as a *sine quâ non*; one cannot expect to touch very closely the hearts and minds of the people without familiar acquaintance with their ideas and modes of thought. Nothing is better calculated to impress the hearers than this knowledge on the part of a foreigner, and the absurdity of many of their preconceptions may be easily manifested by leading questions such as this. Contempt should

not be thrown upon the historic or mythical heroes thus deified, but it should be shown that, whilst worthy of respect and veneration for their loyalty or other virtues, they are not entitled to worship such as is offered to the Divine.

In visiting a Confucian temple even greater circumspection is necessary, for here there is nothing to excite the risible faculties, and the dignified solemnities of the orthodox cult, to which so many generations have professed allegiance, are not unworthy of respectful attention. In all these cases good taste will suggest what is the most reasonable and sensible attitude to adopt, and common sense will indicate that a rash iconoclasm or blatant superiority are least calculated to lead the votaries, thus stretching out "lame hands of faith," to "the true and the right way."

It should be remembered that in China a shopkeeper does not put his name up over his shop front, but adopts a sign, or "chop," as it is vulgarly called. The visitor, rejoicing in his ability to read the shop sign, must not think of applying it to the shopkeeper in lieu of his proper name, and address him as Mr. "Renewed Affluence," or something equally absurd, as is often done in the Treaty Ports, where the "name" over the shop is usually interpreted as the name of the proprietor, and applied in the most unblushing way to the amused tradesman.

When foreign ladies meet foreign gentlemen in the street of a native city, they should refrain from handshaking or other form of cordial salutation, and be content with the interchange

of bows, the gentleman lifting his hat as usual. Ladies should not kiss one another when meeting out of doors, but should "moderate their transports" until they have an opportunity in the seclusion of their own houses.

It is hardly necessary to remark that men should abstain from kissing females, of whatever age, when meeting in the presence of Chinese, for such a practice would be most certainly misconstrued. Kissing is not unknown in China, though perhaps not so popular as "smelling"; but not even a father or mother will venture to salute a daughter when once she has found a husband; and brothers and sisters are not supposed to embrace, or even to sit at the same table, once they have passed the age of ten years. It should be remembered how very rigid is the theory of the segregation of the sexes in China; and foreigners should avoid, as far as possible, the appearance of contravening these laws, for in Chinese eyes they constitute the border line between decency and indecency, however unnecessary, and indeed ignoble, they may appear to us.

Another point of very great importance is the treatment of written or printed characters. The Chinese, even of the lowest classes, are utterly scandalised by the foreigner's abuse of written symbols; by his wrapping up of parcels, etc., in newspapers; his scrubbing of stains, etc., with written or printed paper; and even worse degradation of the precious gift of the writer's art, whether in Chinese or foreign characters; and it

may be said that few peccadilloes are more frequently discussed by the Chinese than this, and few which occasion them greater astonishment, and confirm their persuasion of the "barbarism" of their foreign visitors. An instance of such thoughtlessness on the part of a missionary may serve to undo all the good which he has accomplished during months of earnest effort.

III

VISITING CARDS

The Chinese do not, really, use "cards" at all, but strips of red paper, about 7 inches long by $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches broad; and, according to strict Chinese etiquette, the size of the card is almost as much fixed as that of gentlemen's visiting cards in England.

Some foreigners imagine that a very large card, with very large characters stamped upon it, will command respect, but, as a matter of fact, such would be considered by the Chinese as a mark of ill-breeding. If the foreigner uses a card of the correct size in his relations with officials, he will be treated to similar cards by them; but if he adopts a very ambitious style of card they will respond in kind. It would be a gross impertinence for an inferior to present a large card to a superior, and quite unnecessary for a superior to act in the same way towards an inferior. Only a newly fledged "Senior Classic" is allowed to use a very large card inscribed with characters which almost fill it, and then only on the occasion of his returning the complimentary calls of his equals or inferiors. Sometimes high officials, in their relations with

foreigners, adopt cards of ridiculously large dimensions, a foot or so in length; but this is not usually done by the more notable officials—it is often a mark of ignorance and self-importance on the part of inferior men.

There should be two kinds of "cards" kept in stock—one bearing the name only on the face, and nothing whatever on the back; and the other inscribed with the name as in the former case, but having also some characters written or printed on the reverse side, to show that the card is intended for ceremonial purposes only—*e.g.* 拜片, or 專誠拜謁.

The plain cards, bearing only the name of the person, should be kept as carefully as one's cheque-book, as they are very liable to be misappropriated by servants and applied to very dangerous purposes, and should therefore be carefully locked up, together with the wooden stamp or "card plate"; and it is a good plan, when using a card for any special purpose, to write the name in English on the back.

The cards endorsed as above described, "for ceremonial use," may be used when paying visits, etc., but are not suitable for accompanying gifts, in which case it is better to use the plain cards, and to write the words, "A Present to So-and-so," on the face. For business purposes the plain cards should be used.

Chinese ladies do not use cards, though some foreign ladies take the liberty of adopting (Chinese) gentlemen's "cards"; but when the wives of officials pay visits on special occasions

to the ladies of the ranks above them, they carry with them a large sheet of red paper called 手本, literally, "handbook," folded into ten "pages," and bearing the characters 某氏襝衽拜, "Mrs. So-and-so [giving either the maiden or the married name] pays her respects in correctly ordered attire."

In some cases the name of the original home is substituted for the name of the family, and "*née* So-and-so," giving the maiden name, is added. The Chinese are generally able to identify the name of the husband's family by a hint of this kind, and it is considered a more delicate way of communicating the married name than by a direct statement.

In the case of mourning for a parent, special cards of a light brown colour are sometimes employed, or the mourner may add some characters to indicate the fact. This is observed during the twenty-seven months which are prescribed as the period of "great mourning." In cases of lesser mourning, as for more distant relatives, the colour of the card is not changed, but certain characters are appended to the ordinary inscription.

These marks of mourning should not appear on cards which are presented at houses where joyful celebrations are taking place; other characters should be substituted for those which under such circumstances might be considered as ill-omened.

IV

VISITS TO OFFICIALS

Travellers in China, be they missionaries, merchants, or others, must obtain from their Consul, at the seaport where they disembark, a certificate of registration, and a passport permitting them to travel in whatever provinces they wish to penetrate, and entitling them to the protection of the local officials. It is also necessary that they should be furnished with a Chinese equivalent for their surname, which must appear upon the passport. In this connection it may be well to advise the adoption of a Chinese name which will represent fairly the sound of the "foreign"—*i.e.* European or American—name; thus "Smith" might be well rendered by the three characters 司密禿, Sz Mih-tuh (the first character here stands for the Chinese "hsing," or surname, and the other two for the "ming," or personal names); rather than by an effort to represent the "Christian" name independently of the surname. In addition to the "ming," an equivalent, known as the "hao," or "style," is generally adopted, and is frequently inquired after in

Chinese Official in Visiting Costume.

polite conversation. It consists of two characters similar in meaning to the two composing the "ming," but different in sound. In addressing a friend, it is considered polite to employ the "hao" rather than the "ming." In selecting a name, care must be taken to avoid using any character which may have composed the name of some deceased emperor or other character, which, according to Chinese usage, is considered "taboo."

On arrival at his destination in the interior, or at any intermediate station where he proposes to make a stay of any duration, the new arrival should take an early opportunity of calling on the highest local mandarin, with a view to present his credentials, and explain the purpose of his coming to the place. If he is a traveller unacquainted with the language, he should be accompanied by a well-qualified interpreter, already selected for him at the coast. If the new arrival be a missionary, he should be introduced by a senior missionary already acquainted with the official; or, if he be himself qualified to speak the language, he may take with him a reliable Chinese assistant, in case of any dialectical difficulties, and in order to answer any questions, which the mandarin may prefer to address to a native, with regard to Christian doctrine or methods: the escort should therefore be a native well informed in Christian subjects, and familiar with the usages of (Chinese) polite society.

The visitor should don his best clothes—*i.e.* those which he would wear in paying a visit to an official person in his own country. It is not

essential that he should attempt to make a compromise with Chinese ideas with regard to the length of his coat, the position of the buttons, etc. He is not himself to be blamed for any shortcomings in his national costume; but he will find that by wearing a double-breasted coat reaching nearly to his knees he will be able to gain some amount of respect from his host, as one not altogether to be classed with the "short-coated men," as the country yokels are called; and he should endeavour, if possible, to gain that respect, even though it may involve him in some little inconvenience.

It would be well to announce the proposed visit by letter a day or two before; or, if the visit is not connected with any important affair, it will be sufficient if a card is sent, with a verbal inquiry as to whether "His Honour" would find it convenient to receive a visitor on the day suggested, and what hour would be most suitable. Chinese officials are seldom "at home" in the morning, and hence the visit will probably be fixed to take place about 3 to 4 p.m. The messenger will be handed one of the official's "cards" when the reply is given, or, if a letter has been sent, a formal reply with card enclosed.

The visitor may walk to the official residence if he prefers to do so, but strict ceremony requires that he should be carried thither in a sedan-chair, borne by two or three bearers; or by whatever vehicle is generally used in that part of the country; and accompanied by a servant, wearing the long gown, boots, and tasselled hat which

TA-KUNG.

Tso-i: First Position.

are *de rigueur*, and bearing the visitor's card-case (or 護書). On nearing the entrance to the "yamen," as the mandarin's official residence is called, the servant goes on ahead to announce the arrival to the gate-keeper, and to present his master's card. The card is taken in by the gate-man and given to another servant, and the visitor is carried through the several courtyards as far as the first closed gate, where he remains seated in his chair, supported by his bearers, until a servant appears from within, holding the visitor's card aloft in his hand, and inviting the guest to enter with the word "Ching" (請). If the host is "not at home," the servant announces the fact by saying, "Tang-kyia" (擋駕), which means, "to stop the chariot."

If the visit is acceptable, the doors are then flung open, and the chair is carried through the Dwelling Gate (宅門) and a smaller gate farther on, called the Screen Gate (屏門) to the Second Hall (二堂), where the mandarin awaits his guest. If, however, the host does not wish to show much courtesy to his visitor, the Screen Gate may be kept closed, and the visitor will have to alight and follow the servant on foot to the reception-room, where he may, or may not, find his host awaiting him. The opening or closing of this door will therefore afford some indication of the host's attitude, whether friendly or otherwise.

All the yamens, from that of a hsien (縣) magistrate upwards, possess four entrances, leading in succession to the private quarters of the mandarin. The first, which opens on the

street, is called the 頭門, or Head Gate; the second is called the Gate of Dignity (儀門); the third is the Great Hall (大堂), which also has doors; and the fourth is the Dwelling Gate (宅門). Beyond this there is the Screen Gate (屏門); then the Second Hall (二堂), and the flowery saloon or reception-room (花廳).

NOTE.—If the host is of Taotai rank: the visitor's chair is not carried beyond the Great Hall; if a Prefect, the chair is put down outside the Dwelling Gate; and sometimes, even if the mandarin is only a district magistrate, the chair is not allowed to pass the Screen Gate; but the standing of the visitor may upset all these arrangements, and all barriers be removed in the presence of high rank or special esteem, in which case the host awaits his guest in the Second Hall, and not in the reception-room as in ordinary cases.

The visitor, on appearing in his host's presence, makes a salutation by holding his two hands close together up to his chin, the fingers of the right hand enclosing those of the left, the thumbs meeting in front; making at the same time a slight inclination of the head. This is called Ta-kung (打拱).

If, however, he is wearing Chinese dress he should give a more formal salute, or tso-i (作揖), by placing his hands together, the fingers turned inward, and all being hidden by the long sleeves he is wearing; he then brings his hands together to the level of his mouth, down again with a graceful bow, and up again to the level of his eyes,

Tso-i : Second Position.

where he holds them for a moment, his head respectfully bent. If, however, the guest prefers to adhere to his own canons of etiquette, he will make a low bow in English fashion, and, if the mandarin professes some acquaintance with European ways, he may present his hand to the guest and join him in a handshake.

To the guest's salutation the host replies in kind, and some few polite words are said on both sides, such as, "I have not called on you before,"

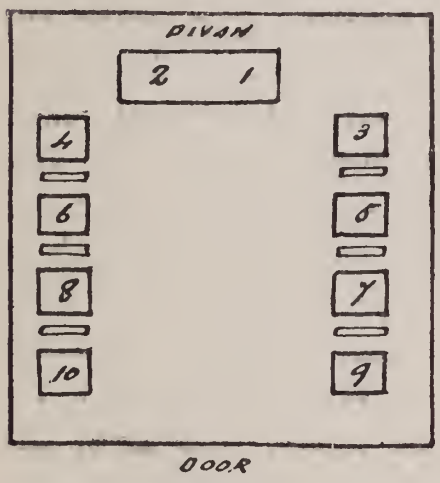

Fig. 1.

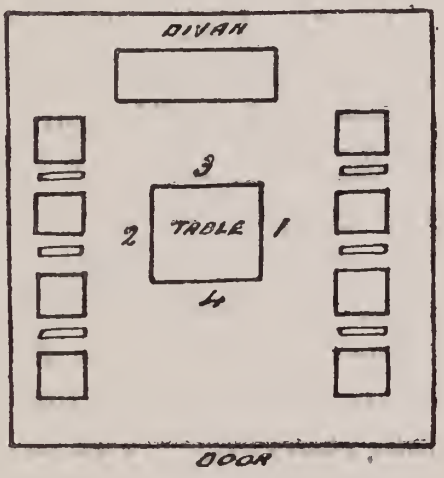

Fig. 2.

"How is your honourable self?" etc. (素未拜謁但聞尊名如雷灌耳), and the host responds, "You are too polite," etc. (豈敢見誚見誚). The host then conducts the visitor to the hwa ting (花廳), or reception-room; which is beyond the Second Hall, and situated at the side of the courtyard; walking slightly to the rear and ushering him in with his left hand; and invites him to take his seat on the divan, in the place of honour at No. 1 (see diagram). If there be

another guest, he may ask him to accompany the chief guest on the divan at seat No. 2, whilst he seats himself at No. 4 to the side. Sometimes, however, a table containing sweetmeats, etc., is placed in the middle of the room, and the places will then be arranged as shown in Fig. 2.

If there are three guests, the host takes the still lower place at No. 4.

Before the company is actually seated the host places cups of tea on the tea-poy (茶几) at the side of each seat, the guest putting both hands to his head in acknowledgment; and when the servant places the cup for the host, the guest makes a feint of helping to put it down with both hands, and the host rises slightly from his seat with a gesture of remonstrance, saying, "I am not worthy" (不敢). The tea is not drunk at once, but conversation begins. The visitor, if acquainted with the host, may say, "I am come again to trouble you" (今日又來吵擾), the host replying, "You are too polite" (客氣勞駕). If a new arrival is present, the older visitor may then say, "Mr. So-and-so has lately arrived, and has come to pay his respects"; and the host replies, "I am not worthy." If there is any business to be discussed it may then be introduced, and some polite references may be made to the fact of His Honour's kind protection of the foreigners resident in his district, etc. One or two general cautions may here be suggested with reference to the bearing of the foreign visitors:

1. It is very important that visitors should

HOST PLACING TEA ON TABLE: GUEST STANDING ON THE RIGHT.

GUEST ASSISTING HOST TO PLACE TEA-CUP ON THE TEA-POY.

"look pleasant," as the photographers say, and should smile affably, but not too effusively, when addressing the host or replying to his questions.

2. The voice should not be too loud, but gently modulated.

3. The wonders of foreign mechanical contrivances, and other achievements, should not be too blatantly advertised; and, in fact, they had better be kept in the background unless the subject is introduced by the host.

4. Criticism of Chinese methods, and especially of the "little weaknesses" of the officials, should not be indulged in—this would be extremely "bad form."

5. When the speaker refers to himself he should avoid, as far as possible, the personal pronoun, and should speak of himself as "the brother" (兄 弟). The second person should never be used in addressing the host, but he should be styled "Your Excellency" (閣 下), or, if of any rank above that of district magistrate, he may be called "Great Man" (大 人). In referring to China the visitor should call it "Honourable Kingdom," and refer to his own country as "Mean Kingdom" (貴 國, 敝 國).

6. An official call should not be greatly prolonged, as the magistrate is (politely) supposed to be immersed in affairs of state, and an excuse for a short visit is easily supplied by remarking that His Honour is doubtless very much occupied, etc.

7. It is not polite to look the host "right in the

eye," but to fix the eyes upon his breast when addressing him, and only occasionally look him in the face—the appearance of excessive boldness is thus avoided.

8. In conversing with comparative strangers great care should be observed in order to avoid indiscretions; whilst in the company of familiar acquaintances even greater care is necessary, lest one should be led to speak inadvisedly; and it should be remembered that the hasty utterance, though harmless enough in the intention of the speaker, may be distorted beyond recognition when repeated by careless or designing hearers.

9. If it should happen that the host is acquainted with English, the conversation should be conducted in that language, and a good many of the ceremonial observances may be thus avoided.

If the host thinks sufficient time has been occupied, he may say, "Please take your tea when it suits you" (隨便請茶). This is a signal to depart. Or if the guest is anxious to go, he may take the initiative and invite the host to drink, by saying, "Please (take) tea" (請茶). If, however, the guest is invited to partake of tea before his business is satisfactorily arranged, he may overlook the hint for the nonce; but if the official should order the attendant to bring in fresh tea (挽茶), this must be taken as a signal which cannot be disregarded, and the guest must either finish what he has to say without further circumlocution, or take his leave without delay. In some cases, however, it will be evident that the host does not intend to hasten the guest, but

The Parting Cup.

merely to consult his convenience by replacing the tea which has grown cold ; this will be evident when the host himself is engaged in a long speech, and gives the order for fresh tea before he has exhausted his topic. In such cases the guest's own perception will be the best guide, as no hard-and-fast rule can be laid down ; but it will be well to remember that in ordinary cases the order for fresh tea is intended as a hint to bring the interview to a close.

When about to drink tea the guest takes up his cup with both hands, and raising it to his lips at the same moment as his host, sips once or twice in concert with him, and puts down his cup when he does. When the guest has tasted his tea he should say, "I have put you to trouble" (叨擾), or some other suitable phrase, and rise up to take his departure. Host and guest salute each other with a *kung*—meanwhile the servant will have called the chair-bearers—and the host conducts his visitors through the several gateways to the place where their chairs are awaiting them, the guests going first and making a polite protest at each doorway against the host accompanying them any further, saying, "Please stay your steps" (請留步), or, "I am unworthy" ; the host replying, "This is only right" (應該), or, "You are too polite." On reaching the entrance where the chairs are stationed, both host and guest make a *kung*, the visitor steps sideways over the pole of his chair (which is held down for the purpose by one of the bearers), taking care that he does not turn his back to his host in so doing; and just

before taking his seat he makes a final *kung*, saying, "We shall meet again" (再會). He then backs into his chair and is borne off.

If the guest is walking homewards, he takes leave of his host at the door by standing half-facing him, retreating a step with a slight obeisance, and turning gracefully in the direction in which he is going. Should the guest have a horse awaiting him, he will, on arrival at the door, beg the host to return before he mounts; but if the host wishes to be very polite he will stay to see him mount, and both host and rider will then part with mutual *kungs*. If the host, however, be a senior or superior, it will be necessary to part from him at the door, and mount the horse at a distance from the house.

When calling on high officials, such as viceroys or governors, the visitor's chair should not be carried right up to the inner door, but the guest should alight from it and walk part of the way; he should not enter his chair in the official's presence, but part from him at the gate and walk to where his chair is awaiting.

The sedan-chairs used by different ranks of officials, etc., are distinguished by the colour of the covering and the number of the bearers. The Emperor alone rides in a chair which is carried by sixteen bearers; princes of the blood employ eight bearers, and the highest provincial authorities are also allowed eight, but do not usually avail themselves of this privilege, except on great occasions. Officials of the lesser ranks are permitted to employ four bearers, and those below

PARTING AT THE OUTER GATE, THE VISITOR (ON THE RIGHT) MAKING HIS LAST BOW.

the rank of district magistrate, actually in office, have to content themselves with two, sometimes employing an extra man to take turns with one or other of the regular bearers.

The higher officials use chairs covered in green cloth, and foreign consuls, ranking with taotais according to Treaty, also adopt this colour. Minor officials below the rank of taotai have blue chairs, and foreign residents usually follow suit. Ordinary chairs offered for hire are painted black, and picked out with red. Bridal chairs are red, and those in which idols are carried in procession are usually of this colour.

In the order of precedence the foremost chair is the most important. The use of sedan-chairs within the city of Peking is limited to princes of the blood and the highest officials.

Note.—It is allowable to ride a horse as far as the great hall of an official residence, but to ride, or even lead, a horse into a private courtyard is taboo. When an official travels on horseback, he is preceded by a mounted servant, whose business it is to clear a passage for him in crowded places.

V

VISITS TO THE GENTRY

It is very important that the new arrival, if he proposes to reside in the district, should not only present himself to the local mandarin, but should also make the acquaintance of the more prominent among the gentry of the neighbourhood, whose influence is, after all, really greater than that of the temporary official, and who are in closer touch with the people and better acquainted with their modes of thought. There are different ways of gaining introductions, and, if other methods are not available, the mandarin may be requested to suggest the names of some of the chief families, and to inform them of the intention of the new arrival to make a call. In the event of there being no senior at hand who is acquainted with the language, it will be better to postpone the visit until the new arrival is more or less able to express himself in Chinese, and be independent of an interpreter. Supposing, however, that he is able to speak Chinese fairly well, he should take an early opportunity of calling on some of the leading

families, in accordance with the rules already indicated in the case of official visits, and explain fully and clearly the object of his mission in the country; this will serve to remove prejudice, and help to establish a good understanding.

Should the visitor not be received on presenting himself, for the first time, at the residence of the gentleman, he may "turn the tables" by inviting him to a meal at his own house to meet the local official. This invitation will probably be accepted. The meal should be in European style, as, amongst other reasons, the foreign host will not probably shine as an entertainer at a Chinese banquet; but, in order to avoid embarrassing his guests, he should provide them with chopsticks as well as knives and forks, and the viands should be of such a nature as to be easily manipulated by the chopsticks. Beef should not find a place on the table, as most Chinese object to eating it, and butter is also contra-indicated, not on account of any religious scruple, but because the word "cow" forms a part of the ideograph which stands for "prison" (牢 獄). Dog's flesh is, for the same reason, to be avoided, as the radical for dog appears in the second character which stands for "prison," the inference being that if you wish to shun the gaol you must eschew beef and dog's meat. It is advisable to give the guests a hint that cow's meat forms no part of the bill of fare. The host must be able to manage the chopsticks himself, as it will be only polite on his part to keep his guests in countenance should they decide to employ these instru-

ments in preference to knives and forks; and he may make a jocular reference to the fact that the latter at one time prevailed in China, the sage Confucius knowing nothing of chopsticks, which were first introduced during the Han dynasty. In the matter of precedence the English method of sitting at the table should be observed; and, in order to avoid misconception, it would be well to point out that the post of honour, according to our method, is on the right side of the host, lest the chief guest should suspect an indignity on finding himself placed anywhere but on the left, which is the more honourable station according to Chinese canons. If grace is said, it may be apropos to remark that, according to the ancient Chinese custom, Confucius always set aside a portion of his food as a thankoffering before eating, and that the Christian grace is a recognition of the goodness of the Creator in supplying the needs of his creatures.

After the meal the guests may be entertained by the exhibition of pictures and other objects of interest, but studies of the nude, or figures of underdressed females, should be carefully avoided —in fact, it would be well if all such were strictly interdicted in every Christian home in China, where they are certain to be misunderstood, and, perhaps, suggest very unfortunate inferences. Articles of virtu are likely to be appreciated, and scientific instruments, such as microscopes, etc., will be found to excite interest.

The Chinese guests will probably invite their late host to a dinner in return, and he should

endeavour by all means to accept the invitation—to decline or excuse himself would be considered very impolite. After-dinner calls are not customary in China, except on occasions of great importance, such as birthday festivals, etc.

When ladies visit their friends in the higher circles of society, they should be accompanied by an "amah," or nurse. Special "cards" are used, not like those used by gentlemen, but consisting of a large sheet of red paper folded as described in another chapter, and written by hand instead of being stamped or printed. The inscription is as follows: "Married to So-and-so, *née* So-and-so, makes respectful prostrations." The card is returned to the visitor by a servant if the hostess is "not at home," or, privately, by the hostess during the interview. Ladies salute one another by moving the hands up and down, the right hand holding the left-hand sleeve, which is pressed against the body in front. The head is bent slightly forward, but no movement, other than that of the hands, is made. The colour of the clothing varies at different seasons, but a black satin jacket or mantle is essential on occasions of ceremony. Bracelets, rings, and other ornaments should be of gold or silver-gilt; "white" metal—*i.e.* silver—should not be used, as that is the colour of mourning.

Care should be taken in the composition of the toilette, as the Chinese are remarkable for the facility with which they interpret, to their own satisfaction, the significance of certain sartorial features. For instance, it is commonly

supposed that veils are only worn by married ladies, and that the black "spots," which form a sort of pattern on some veils, are intended to indicate an "interesting condition"—perhaps on the analogy of the red spot which the ladies of the harem affected in China in early days. For such reasons it is advisable that ladies should consult their native female assistants or acquaintances on questions relating to dress, etc., in order to avoid misconception, or, at all events, to reduce the inevitable difficulties to a minimum.

It may sometimes happen that a foreign lady is called upon to entertain a Chinese gentleman. In such cases the lady should reply to the visitor's bow in the usual form of salutation adopted by Chinese ladies—the fingers of the right hand holding the sleeve of the left, and both hands moving slightly up and down as elsewhere described. She should then invite her guest to be seated, and should not take her own seat until he has seated himself. The chairs should not be placed closely together, nor face to face, but at a reasonable distance apart. When tea is brought in, the lady does not drink, or even lift her cup, to her lips, but replies "Please" (請) to the guest's invitation to drink. The interview should not be prolonged, and the burden of conversation should be left to the gentleman. At its close the lady should accompany her guest as far as the door of the apartment, where the gentleman takes his leave with a bow, as before, to which the lady replies in due form.

VI

VISITING HOUSES ON OCCASIONS OF REJOICING

On visiting a house on festive occasions, such as birthdays, weddings, etc., the visitor should put on ceremonial garments, and on reaching the house make a bow (拱) to each of his acquaintances, taking special notice of the children whom he may meet. On seeing the host he should say, 恭喜, adding a word or two appropriate to the occasion, and making his bow at the same time —*e.g.* if the occasion be a wedding, he will say, 恭喜十全十福, "Respectful joy (*i.e.* congratulations), complete happiness"; if a birthday, 恭喜長壽, "Respectful joy, long life," and so on. He will afterwards salute the company present, making a horizontal sweep with both hands together and saying, "Gentlemen all, I offer you my felicitations" (衆位奉賀). He then begs the host to conduct him to the lady of the house, that he may offer his congratulations, and the host will perhaps refuse, saying, "How dare I!" (不敢), and the guest will insist, saying, "This is proper" (應該). If the host still declines, as he probably will do, the guest must

decide whether he should still insist or not, and he will be guided by the extent of his acquaintance with the family.

If he has already met the lady he will take no refusal, but if not, and his acquaintance with the host is slight, he will submit to the inevitable, saying, "I respect your commands" (遵命). If admitted to the apartment where the ladies are, he will make his bow to the lady of the house, repeating the words of congratulation, and then he will make a "circular sweep" to the other ladies, saying, "I felicitate you all." He then rejoins the gentlemen, and conversation becomes general; and here he must observe the utmost caution, lest he should give expression to some infelicitous, or, as the Greeks would call it, "blasphemous," word, such as a reference to misfortune of any kind, which might be considered by the host as of ill-omen, and by the guests as a sign of ill-breeding or stupidity. He should be careful in his movements lest he should knock over any article of furniture, for fractures or breakages of any kind would be considered ill-omened on such an occasion.

The chief guest should be prepared with some "well-chosen words" in case it should fall to his lot to lead the "morra" at the feast which follows, and though he may hope to escape by pleading ignorance of the game, he must be able at least to "open the ball." He may, for instance, at a wedding feast throw out three fingers and say, 三星照 ("Three stars shine"), which means, "May the three stars—happiness, office, and longevity—

shine" upon the subject of the feast; or, if the occasion be a birthday, he may show four or five fingers, and say, 九九長壽 ("Nine, nine, long life")—*i.e.* may he live to ninety-nine years of age; or at a house-warming he may say, 六六順流 ("Six, six, favourable"), which means, may all go favourably during the twelve months, and so on in endless variety. Some of these expressions may be "got up" for the occasion beforehand, and the foreigner may thus avoid appearing as an utter "barbarian."

VII

VISITS TO THE SICK

In the event of a native friend, a non-Christian, being dangerously ill, the foreigner may send messages by a mutual acquaintance to inquire after the sick person and assure him of sympathy and remembrance, and apologising for not coming in person by the excuse that he does not wish to put him to unnecessary inconvenience. This will be even better than a personal visit. In the case of Church members or other adherents being similarly afflicted, it is a good plan to commit all work of this kind, visiting the sick or the chamber of death, to the native pastor or catechist; for, in the first place, the foreigner can hardly comprehend the peculiar conceptions and prejudices of the Chinese with regard to such cases; and, in the second place, such visits will occasion little comment when undertaken by a native, but might excite the gravest suspicion if a foreigner were observed visiting a house where sickness was known to exist, or death was believed to be impending. The practice of the Roman Church in connection with "Extreme Unction" and the

last rites has occasioned, probably, more excitement, alarm, and suspicion than any other method of the foreigners, and it is almost universally believed, by both high and low, that terrible operations are performed at such times.

One of these, and perhaps the most popularly believed, is that the foreign visitor carries with him a small tube which he inserts in the throat of the dying, and by means of which he, vampire-like, sucks the blood of his victim. Another story is that the foreigner extracts the heart and liver of the person *in extremis*, and gouges out his eyes for the manufacture of medical compounds, and that it is for this purpose the "Father" is hastily summoned shortly before death takes place, and it is with this in view he shuts himself up in the chamber with the sick person, with not only every door closed, but also every crack or knot-hole carefully stopped up, to ensure that his performances are carried on in absolute secrecy. No other individual is permitted to be present, even the nearest and dearest, and it is little wonder that all sorts of devices are resorted to in order to gain some inkling of what is going on, and wild rumours are circulated by those who compound for lack of information by wealth of imagination.

Whether such secrecy as is above stated is really observed or not is open to question; the point is not so much what does actually take place, but what the Chinese imagine does take place, and their constructions thereon; and for this reason it is safer to delegate such duties to a native agent rather than foster such suspicions

by presenting oneself in person at the house of the sick.

Should, however, it be expedient, for whatever cause, to pay a personal visit to the sick or dying, it will be well to avoid entering into or remaining in the room unaccompanied by some of the sick person's relations or friends; and when in the sick-chamber the visitor will be careful to act as he would under similar circumstances in England or elsewhere, for in these matters the Chinese hold very similar views to those of the West.

In some places none, except relations, will visit the death-chamber, and those born under conflicting auspices are warned against approach—*e.g.* a person born under the sign of the cock will be careful to avoid the deathbed of any one whose horary sign is that of the cat, for he may suffer for his temerity, and contract the complaint from which the deceased has been suffering—the old enmity between the feline and the feathered races being supposedly continued even after the death of one of the representatives, and even in the realm of astral speculation; and there are specially dangerous periods when the person thus contra-indicated is hurried out of the house, even though he be a relation, and is forced to remain in the open air until readmitted by express invitation. These special occasions are the coffining and, more especially, the nailing of the coffin lid. People are sometimes warned by fortune-tellers, when consulting the future, to avoid the "white road," and for this reason are afraid to

present themselves at a house where the white hangings indicate the presence of death.

Visitors should avoid drawing attention to any vermin which may make their appearance on the person or clothing of the deceased, for this is supposed to cause an increase in the number, and the rule applies also to remarks on any offensive odour which may be noticed. The proper thing is to say, "So-and-so when alive was remarkable for his cleanly habits, and now that he's dead he is still the same." Such a remark is said to prevent the exhibition of vermin, and also to retard the process of decay and corruption!

It is a common practice for persons suffering from boils, eye troubles, etc., to pay a visit to the death-chamber, whether acquainted originally with the deceased or not, and address themselves to the corpse, sometimes pretending to an acquaintance where none existed, and saying, "You may not remember me, but I remember you. Will you kindly take this ulcer (or whatever the complaint may be) away with you and relieve me of it? You were always a kind person and considerate"—a method which is said, perhaps not altogether without some shadow of truth, to be better even than calling a doctor! In the case of juniors it is allowable for a senior to make a request to the dead on their behalf.

A strange custom is sometimes observed when the bearers find the coffin very heavy; they also in this instance address the dead and say, "Oh! Mr. So-and-so, you ought to be glad to be removing to your 'new house,' and we are

delighted to escort you if you will assist us" ("new house" being a euphemism for "tomb"). This is expected to have the effect of lightening the burden very considerably, as the traveller to the "shades" no longer remains despondent and "heavy," but makes himself as light as possible, so as to expedite the passage to his "new house."

VIII

VISITING HOUSES OF MOURNING

When a death takes place in a household, the son, or other relation whose business it is, publishes a fu-wen (訃聞), or announcement of the death, and circulates it amongst the friends and relatives. This is only done in cases where the deceased has taken "honours" at the public examinations. The announcement gives the dates of the "masses" for the dead; of the reception of cards of condolence; of the adoption of mourning garments; of the dotting of the tablet; and that of the funeral. A similar notice is pasted on the city gate for the information of those who have not received special intimation. In the case of a non-graduate, notice is given by a special messenger, or messengers, sent to the houses of relatives and others. On receipt of this notice the friends make preparations for sending in their funeral presents—for in China presents are sent on occasions of mourning as well as festivity, and are intended to console the survivors, and to assist in the sacrificial service to the dead. The presents are sent in some ten,

seven, five, or three days before the funeral, and consist of scrolls of different kinds, loaves, white candles, incense, tinsel money, dollars, fowls, geese, fish, flesh, etc., or a meal, fully prepared, with rice and wine. If the offerings are carried between two men, they are accompanied by a folded red "card" (手本), on which is written the degree as well as the name of the donor, or an ordinary visiting-card; if carried by one man, an ordinary card will suffice; whilst if rolled up in paper, as in the case of a money offering, the card may be dispensed with, and the name written on the outside of the parcel, with the two characters 奠儀, which mean "Libation fees." A card of thanks for these offerings is given to the bearer, signed by all the male mourners, and a note is appended stating the amount of the "tip" given the messenger. Some buns are also handed him for presentation to his master. If dollars form part of the present, it will depend on the relation in which the offerer stands to the mourners whether they will be accepted or not—if presented by an acquaintance or a friend, they should be returned; but if accepted, as in the case of relatives, a piece of white cotton, several yards in length, is sent in return.

The rule with regard to putting on one's best garments is observed, as in the case of visits on occasions of joy. Visits to houses of mourning are usually made on the date of the "dotting of the tablet," as stated in the "announcement of death." The guest must not ask to see any member of the family, except in the case of the

deceased person being a female (other than the mother of the host), but should make his way to the front of the white curtain (孝帷) and make a respectful obeisance, which will be acknowledged by the relation who represents the host or chief mourner on such occasions.

He is then invited, perhaps, to drink tea, and if his entertainer is unknown to him he will carefully inquire of him his name, age, occupation, relationship to the dead man, etc. He will refer to the good qualities of the deceased and the sad loss sustained by the family, and assume an expression of sorrow, which will be reflected on the face of his host. If anything amusing should happen, calculated to provoke a laugh—for even in houses of mourning, contrary to strict rule, opportunities for merry-making are not altogether absent—the visitor must be careful not to expose his teeth if he allows himself to smile—*i.e.* he should not laugh out-right, but endeavour to control his features if his risible faculties are excited. After sitting for a short time the visitor should take leave in the ordinary way; he is not expected to make a prolonged visit on such occasions.

IX

FOREIGN LADIES VISITING IN THE COUNTRY DISTRICTS

The presence of foreign ladies in country districts, where the people are very conservative and altogether unacquainted with foreign ways, is so inexplicable to the natives that such visits should be conducted with the utmost caution and scrupulous regard to decorum. The lady missionary should always be accompanied by a qualified Chinese woman who will be able to answer criticisms and explain difficulties, and thus prepare the way for a patient and attentive hearing.

It is open to question whether such visits are at all advisable in the present condition of China, and whether the good attained is not counterbalanced by the ill effects which sometimes follow; but, seeing that female missionaries are to be found already in most of the provinces, the only thing which can be attempted is to suggest prudential methods, in connection with a condition of things which is not contemplated in the etiquette of the Chinese. Ladies should remember that in visiting new places they are

likely to be identified with the "three maids and six dames," which include all classes of strolling females engaged in disreputable pursuits; and this persuasion on the part of the village folks will be found to be very deep-seated and persistent, even in places where such visits are not infrequent. Ladies have occasionally been subjected to insult and assault, though they are not usually molested or seriously affronted, but they have little conception of the ideas which are entertained about them, or the language which is applied to them behind their backs, even by those who may seem to offer them a smiling welcome.

The garments worn by ladies on such occasions should be plain and devoid of ornament or jewellery, lest cupidity be excited, or the appearance of affluence become a bribe to enlist unworthy adherents.

The figure should not be exposed, but carefully concealed by a cloak or robe, for such immodesty, as the Chinese would consider the exhibition of the female shape, is something which even the *demi-monde* in China do not descend to in public; and nothing could appear more incongruous than the apostles of decency and order thus presenting themselves in such disreputable guise. Even in summer some light garment of gauze should be adopted to conceal the figure, and gloves be worn. It is hardly necessary to remark that a "foreign" lady should never surrender any of the essential principles of decorum, even amongst the benighted dwellers in country villages; nor forget that,

though a missionary, she is still a woman. Though ignorant, possibly, of Chinese principles, she will be greatly helped by the invariable rules of polite conduct which obtain amongst civilised peoples, even though in some cases these may differ from those of the Chinese.

Ladies should avoid appearing to welcome the presence of men at their audiences; it may be difficult sometimes to dismiss them, but, at all events, they should not be encouraged. The woman's business is manifestly to teach the women, although it would seem that some ladies rather prefer an audience of males, "They are so much more sensible," etc., as is sometimes said, and not without reason, for the Chinese woman is not usually well prepared for theological disquisition, and is more disposed to inquire the value of the preacher's garments, and to discover in what respects her costume differs from her own, rather than submit to be enlightened on the subject of "justifying righteousness," or some other abstruse doctrine, couched in terms she has, perhaps, hardly heard before; or patiently consent to the imputation that she is a "criminal" or "gaol-bird," which is a fair equivalent of the word which generally does duty for "sinner" in Chinese. It is astonishing what enthusiastic ladies will sometimes do when they secure a pupil, or "inquirer," and cases have frequently happened where a lady made a practice of shutting herself up in the same room with some young man who professed an interest in Christianity, or desired a knowledge of English; and this in a country

where the "Book of Rites" deprecates the hanging of male and female garments on the same rack, and the using of the same face-towel or hair-comb by persons of opposite sex; where a stranger is not supposed to know the personal name of a woman who is not a relation, and where a father is not permitted to sit in the same room with his daughter, or a brother to sit at the same table with a sister above the age of seven! The missionary may insist that such a state of things should be remedied, but it is very questionable whether she, who begins by throwing all sense of propriety to the winds, judged from the Chinese standpoint, is quite the person who is best qualified to act as "social reformer." To sum up, it may be said that ladies in the interior of China, in propitiating popular opinion in matters where expediency is the sole motive, and in order to avoid slanderous imputations, should be as careful as they would be in England, and a great deal more so!

It is awful to contemplate what may be the popular verdict on a young and inexperienced girl, with no knowledge of the world, and little acquaintance with men even of her own class or nationality, who, in her enthusiasm for evangelisation, takes up her quarters in a country of whose language she has but a smattering, and of whose habits and modes of thought she knows even less; and who innocently contravenes almost every canon of respectability, both as regards her personal appearance and conduct—more especially when the judges are Chinese men and women, and these of the most ignorant and conservative class,

whose minds have been filled with abominable libels against "foreigners," and who are prepared to confirm by their own experience all that they have heard, and perhaps make some contributions to the sum of calumny by original investigation on their own behalf.

Meeting in the Street: Spectacles taken off and held in Hand.

X

ATTITUDE TOWARDS PERSONS OF DIFFERENT AGES

According to Chinese etiquette, a person representing an earlier generation should be treated as a father; of ten years' seniority as an elder brother; of five years' as an equal; and hence, when meeting an elder, a respectful salutation should be made by holding the hands together as high as the breast and making a slight bow, at the same time moving the hands once or twice forth and back (拱).

If spectacles are worn, they should be removed and held in the hand until parting, the idea being that spectacles are equivalent to a bandage over the eyes, and that the wearer wishes to shut out the image of the person from his view; thus, as it were, overlooking the fact of his presence. The point is not very clear when translated into English, but to short-sighted persons looking at distant objects through spectacles intended for reading, etc., it will not seem altogether unmeaning.

The rule applies not only to juniors in the presence of seniors or superiors, but also to

persons of equal standing; and when a junior removes his glasses when addressing a senior, the senior should return the compliment; but elders need not remove their glasses when meeting juniors who do not wear them, or who do not remove them.

In walking together the younger person should keep in the rear a pace or so, and should offer to assist the elder in places of difficulty.

When meeting the children of one's friends or neighbours it is proper to smile pleasantly at them, to pat them on the head, and hold their hands, to ask their ages, their accomplishments, etc. This will be gratifying to the parents and encouraging to the children. Avoid all appearance of sternness or boredom. The stern and, what the Chinese consider, "forbidding" appearance of many foreigners is a distinct barrier to friendly relations, whilst a pleasant, sympathetic expression is sure to create a good impression.

XI

TREATMENT OF TEACHERS OF THE LANGUAGE

The position of the teacher, or tutor, it must be carefully remembered, is one of the highest in China, and he takes a place in the list of the "Great Five"—*i.e.* Heaven, Earth, Prince, Parent, and Teacher. In the household he takes precedence of all below the master, and, indeed, in some cases—*e.g.* at meals—should the master elect to sit at the same table, the tutor takes the first place. This does not often happen, as a matter of fact, as the master prefers to sit apart in order to avoid the ceremony which he would have to observe in sitting with the tutor.

According to the "Book of Rites," the scholar should not be tempted by any consideration to "go out" as teacher, but insist on the pupils coming to his own residence; but in the case of foreigners studying Chinese, where the teacher is invited to come to the learner's house, he regards himself in the light of a friend helping a friend, and hence he should be treated as a friend, and not as an employee or servant. The pupil should rise slightly from his chair to salute

him on arrival, and also to take leave of him on departing, and on leaving the room for any reason should give notice by way of apology. However incapable or unsatisfactory the teacher may be, the learner must not attempt to address him in anything but polite and courteous terms; there is a resource in case of incompetence—viz. to give him his *congé*—but abuse or hectoring must not be resorted to in any case.

The "salary" of a teacher is distinguished from the "pay" of a servant, and the terms must not be interchanged. The former is called 束脩, or "a bundle of dried meat," referring to the ancient practice of payment in kind; the latter 辛工, which means "bitter labour." In paying the teacher his monthly allowance, the polite method is to enclose the amount in a piece of red paper and place it, with both hands, in front of the recipient, or it may be conveniently laid beforehand on the table where he can see it. The Chinese are very particular as to the method of presenting things, and Mencius's words, that "passers-by will not accept that which is rudely offered them, and even a starving beggar will refuse to pick up that which is thrown to him and indicated by the foot of the donor," are kept in mind, and this is especially worthy of remembrance in the case of the "teacher," who is also supposed to be a "friend," for to behave rudely to one's friend is equivalent to being rude to oneself; and one's good reputation is largely dependent upon the goodwill of the teacher, for he mixes in good society, and is constantly called

upon to condemn or defend his pupil, and, indeed, "foreigners" generally, who are not always in good repute amongst the literary classes. If the teacher joins in the popular chorus against the foreigner, then who will stand up for him? And if the pupil gains a bad name among the upper classes, his influence among the masses will be largely discounted; whilst if his name is held in honour amongst the influential and highly placed, his position amongst other classes of the people will be assured.

The rule with regard to employing teachers is that the engagement lasts for twelve months, unless it is stated that the first month is to be experimental. If the period of probation is passed successfully, then the arrangement cannot be abrogated, unless in the case of unsatisfactory conduct.

The salary is paid at the end of every month (Chinese reckoning), and even if the pupil is unable to study, or is removed to another place, the payment continues to the end of the year. It is possible that arrangements may be made by which the services of the teacher are transferred to another, or the payment of the year's salary may be compounded; but these are contrary to the strict rule, which is that the arrangement, when once made, should stand unalterable.

In securing a teacher care should be exercised, and, in the event of other resources being unavailable, application may be made to some of the local gentry to recommend a man of good character, disposition, and ability. This will ensure not

only correctness in diction, but also a good accent and style. It is a great mistake to be content with the assistance of some native Christian schoolmaster, or other Church member who is familiar with the "ecclesiastical dialect" which is so common in some missions—*i.e.* the hybrid patois which some foreigners speak, and which is adopted by the native adherents after long association. The Christian "stop-gap" will inevitably seek to educate the beginners up to this standard, and it is almost impossible to undo the evil which may result from a false start of this kind.

The junior native agent is also an unreliable authority on Chinese questions, as he is seldom acquainted with native customs or modes of thought, having been educated, generally, in some missionary "forcing-house," and isolated from the ordinary Chinese surroundings.

Economy should not be made the only consideration in these cases—the best economy is for the student to acquire a thorough mastery of the language, and an insight into Chinese modes of thought and methods of life; and this is to be attained by the employment of a good teacher, who is not only a scholar, but a gentleman, and who is fully acquainted with those subjects which are best worth acquiring.

XII

ATTITUDE TOWARDS SERVANTS

In hiring servants it is advisable to make inquiries, when possible, into their antecedents, and to discover the reason of their leaving their former situations. Letters of recommendation presented by the applicants themselves should be received with caution, as they are often borrowed and sometimes "manufactured," and even when genuine are not always of much value. Employers are sometimes so glad to get rid of a servant that they will give an excellent testimonial to hasten his departure, or as "compensation for disturbance"; and mistresses, especially, are often prevailed upon by former servants to give them a good recommendation, and experience a sort of virtuous satisfaction in thus making up for the hardship of dismissal, forgetting, for the moment, the inconveniences which they had suffered in the past, and careless of the trouble they may be inflicting upon prospective employers. A photograph of the applicant, with his full name endorsed, would be a useful innovation, and would to some extent prevent the interchange of letters of recommendation.

In theory the Chinese gentleman should maintain a very definite attitude towards his retainers, but in practice he allows a great deal of laxity in the majority of cases.

Visitors to yamens have often been astonished at the freedom with which the underlings are permitted to hang about the doors, peep through the windows, and listen to every word that passes between the host and his guests. A servant will sometimes interpose to convey some message to the master without the slightest reference to the guest, who may, at the moment, be engaged with him in conversation. The apology which is usually made for these misdemeanours is that the host is unable, in the presence of his guests, to assume an appearance of displeasure, and warn or rebuke his ill-mannered attendants, for this would be inconsistent with the all-important "harmony" (和) which is said to be the chief product of ceremonial observances. As the "Book of Rites" says, "In the presence of a distinguished guest do not shout even at a dog": for it should be remembered that in China, more than anywhere else, "a nod is as good as a wink," and a very favourite way of conveying a hint to one person is to address oneself in unmistakable tones to another; a kick to a dog may thus convey a not over-delicate intimation that the kicker would very much like to treat the unwelcome guest in the same manner.

Foreigners in China often offend grievously in the management of their servants, and sometimes allow them to behave in a way which is utterly

subversive of all real authority. In dress and address, in obedience or disobedience to express commands, and in general attitude towards his master, the servant does, practically, what he likes; and this is not in the least surprising, for the Chinaman is unsurpassed in his ability to take advantage of openings, and the weakness or indulgence of some masters is often an encouragement to laxity on the part of some who might be ideal servants if treated becomingly and kept well in hand.

There are some cardinal points which should be remembered with regard to the treatment of servants:

1. Deal kindly, but very firmly, with them, taking care that what you demand of them is possible of accomplishment. There is nothing so subversive of discipline as to insist on impossibilities and then to give way under stress of circumstance. Never threaten without full intention of fulfilling, and do not allow any consideration to change your mind when the time comes for carrying out your threat. It is better to err on the side of severity in this respect, for you will find opportunities of making up to the servant what you have deducted from his wages as punishment (there is no method of punishment more effective than this), returning it to him in the form of a bonus when the occasion arises. Vacillation and fickleness are great enemies to authority.

2. Never permit any familiarity on the part of your servants, whether they be Church members,

inquirers, or unbelievers. The former are quick to make capital out of their profession, and should be taught that the best proof of sincerity consists in faithful and respectful service "in that state of life," etc.

It is a great mistake for beginners in the language to allow servants to act the part of "teacher" (先 生), and to consult them on linguistic questions, such as the names of things, or the correct pronunciation of words.

It is not correct to say "Thank you" (謝) to a servant in Chinese, even to the servant of another person, for this would be to treat the servant with the same ceremony as that which is accorded to the master; and if you say "Thank you" to the servant, what form shall your expression of thanks to the master take? The proper thing to say is, "You are working very hard" (多 勞), or, "You must be tired" (辛 苦).

Never tolerate any signs of disrespect, such as sitting down in your presence without invitation, appearing in a short coat or in dishabille, with cue coiled up, etc., in answer to your summons, contradicting or interrupting when you address them. Do not allow them to touch your hand, or any part of your person, in handing things to you. Male servants should never be permitted to enter a lady's bedroom when she is engaged in her toilette or reposing. The early tea and hot water should be brought in by the amah, or female servant, or be placed outside, their arrival being announced by a knock at the door, and the servant should depart in order to allow the lady

to open the door and take the things in with her own hand. Servants should always be required to knock at the door before entering a room where people are present.

3. Wages should be paid at the end of the month without fail. To delay might necessitate a reminder on the part of the servant which would be disagreeable to both parties—the reminder generally taking the form of asking for a "loan."

Accounts should be taken frequently and regularly—at least once a week—and a careful record kept. It is to the interest of both master and servant that such a rule should be observed. All looseness or irregularity will furnish an incentive to "squeezing."

Missionaries especially should be most careful in their treatment of servants, avoiding both excessive severity and undue indulgence—extravagance on the one hand and meanness on the other—for untold harm can be done by discontented or unjustly-treated employees, whose reports of the household doings are greedily listened to and widely circulated.

4. Masters are expected to assist their employees in important domestic affairs, giving them presents on great occasions, or leave of absence when their presence is required at their homes. There are so many "red-letter days" in the life of the Chinese—betrothal, wedding, and other ceremonies, as well as occasions of mourning, which are of equal, if not of greater, moment—that employers are frequently called upon to exercise the grace of forbearance, to say nothing of adding

an occasional "cumshaw" (金沙), or "golden sand," a euphemism for a present or "tip."

5. If servants become involved in any trouble, it is to the master's advantage to find out whether his employees are at fault or not. Employers should not allow their servants to become embroiled without investigating the circumstances, for their own good name may be thus placed in jeopardy. In cases of misdemeanour, the master, especially if he be a missionary, should exercise great patience in dealing with the offender, with a view to leading him to repentance. Summary dismissal may relieve the master of the burden of his company, but its effect upon the servant will not be for good, and the master's good name is likely to suffer, as that of one who comes to China for the purpose of exhorting all men, but who is unable to bring one of his own servants to a right frame of mind, or to bear patiently with him when he is guilty of an indiscretion.

If asked to assist in any litigation or kindred matter, the master must exercise great discretion, for it is difficult, in the first place, to decline altogether to help one who is suffering an apparent wrong, and, in the second place, it is extremely injudicious to interfere in quarrels of the circumstances of which one is necessarily ignorant; and, therefore, the safest plan is to listen sympathetically to the story as told by the servant, and if the case appears to admit of treatment in a constitutional way, give him the benefit of any advice or assistance which may be available; or, if unable to assist in any practical way,

to point out the impossibility of interfering in cases when there is a legal remedy. The safest rule is to stand absolutely aloof from all interference in such cases; but, at the same time, there is no law against listening to the statement of the aggrieved party and giving him the benefit of friendly advice.

Never allow a servant to make use of your (Chinese) visiting-cards in such cases, as it is impossible to forecast to what purposes they may be applied. A case occurred quite lately where a missionary was asked for one of his "cards," which, as was afterwards shown, was used by a yamen policeman in the capture of some brigands, who were executed in due course, with the result that the uncaptured members of the gang swore to exterminate the foreigner, on whose head they laid the responsibility of the capture of their fellows.

The value of the "card" consisted in this, that the "thief-catcher" (馬快, or "horse-fast," as he is called) represented to the uncaptured brigands that he was forced to take such action against their companions owing to the insistence of the foreigner, whose "card" he exhibited as proof. It is a good plan to have the visiting "cards" endorsed with the characters 拜片, or 專誠拜謁 不作別用, which indicate that they are intended for ceremonial purposes only.

6. Female servants are generally called by their surnames (or 姓 = "hsing"), as in England, and men servants by their personal name (名 = "ming"). If the amah, or nurse, tells you her "hsing" is "Wang," you may call her "Ah-

Wang"; and if the "boy" says his "ming" is "Ah-fu," this will be the proper designation for the master to adopt.*

7. If a "tip" is given by a visitor, it should be reported by the recipient, and the master is at liberty to decide how much is to be retained, and how much divided amongst the other servants. A better plan is for visitors to hand over their "cumshaw" to the master or mistress for distribution.

In hiring a servant, a trusted employee of another household, or a respectable Chinese acquaintance or agent, should be asked to assist in finding a suitable person; and it is advisable to put the candidate on trial for a short time before deciding the questions of employment and wages.

The work of the household should be carefully appropriated amongst the different servants to prevent misunderstanding. When each one has a clear understanding of his own duties, there will be little difficulty; but when one is asked to do something which properly belongs to another's province, or which was not stipulated at the time of employment, then dissatisfaction and disruption are sure to result. One month's notice on either side is usually required in order to terminate the engagement.

* A common practice amongst Chinese servants is to add a term of respect or endearment to the "ming," and thus Ah-fu may become "Ah-fu-ko." In such cases the master or mistress may be led to suppose that this is the full name of the person indicated, and much amusement has been created in foreign households where the mistress, a most pompous and proper person in some instances, has been heard to address her coolie, in anything but fraternal accents, as "Ah-fu-ko" = "Brother Ah-fu"!

XIII

A CHINESE DINNER PARTY

INVITATIONS (or 請帖) are usually issued two or three days before the event, or sometimes on the morning of the same day; the invitation "card" being a sheet of red paper about 8 in. by 5 in. In some places a smaller sheet of white paper, with a vertical band of red, is employed on ordinary occasions. On the right-hand side of the card are written the date and hour of the banquet, and two characters which indicate that the "goblets will be cleansed"—*i.e.* that a feast will be spread; two other characters, the second of which is written in the middle of the card close to the top, convey a polite intimation that the honour of your *company* (literally, "lustre," or of your "*instruction*") is awaited (候光 or 候教). The name of the host is written on the left hand, followed by two characters which mean that he "begs to consult" (your convenience, 拜訂). A little higher on the same side are written the address of the house and a "respectful request" to come in ordinary dress (if the occasion be a non-ceremonial one).

If the invitation comes two or three days before the feast, a verbal reply is given the

messenger to the effect that the invitation is noted, or a more polite way is to write on a card that the invitation is thankfully accepted. If, however, the invitation is declined, the invitation card is enclosed in an envelope, together with another card (called 璧帖), on which is written, "Respectfully declined, greetings in return" (敬謝頓首); or "Accepted in my heart, thank you" (心領謝). Should the number of invited guests be large, it is usual to send a "round-robin" (知單) the following day—*i.e.* the day before the event—bearing the names of all the guests, and each one in turn writes after his name his acceptance or rejection in such terms as his standing with the host warrants—*e.g.* if the host is a familiar acquaintance of his, the guest will write 知到="I know; I am coming"; or, if the host is a senior or superior, or only a distant acquaintance, the guest will write the more polite phrase 敬陪="Reverently accompany"—*i.e.* I am not worthy to be regarded as a *guest*, but will venture to accompany the guests. If, however, the invited guest is unable to accept the invitation, or is not certain whether he can be present or not, he will write simply, "I know" (知), in the first case, or "Reverently thank" (敬謝), which is like the French "merci," equivalent to "decline," in the second case. In the case of equals or familiars, where there is no need for special ceremony, the card of invitation is retained by the guest; but where the parties are not very familiar it is taken to the feast, and respectfully returned to the host with a polite

bow; or where the invitation is declined, the card is sent back by the bearer of the round-robin, if it has not already been formally returned as above stated. The white-paper invitation card is not returned.

Should the invitation come on the same day as the feast, the invited guest may give a verbal reply, if he is able to accept; or, in case of inability, may give the messenger a "card" with the two characters 辭謝, meaning, "Declined with thanks," written on it. If the presence of a certain individual is considered indispensable, and there is some doubt as to his coming, the host will send him a special red paper bearing the two characters 速駕, which mean, "Mount the chariot quickly."

The host meets his guests in the 花廳, or drawing-room, and each greets the other with a ceremonious bow (揖), the guest thanking the host for his kind invitation, which he begs to return to him. They take their seats and wait till the other guests have arrived, and it is considered polite to be in good time. The guest who arrives first is given the place of honour, but, should a more important guest arrive later, the first must betake himself to a less honourable seat, and stand in front of it until the chief guest has been accommodated; whilst if the chief guest appears first on the scene, he should make a pretence of resigning his place to the later arrival, and only resume his seat under protest. Whenever a guest arrives, all the others should rise to salute him. The host may invite his friends to

throw off their outer coats, by saying to the company, 請寬衣 ("Please loosen your robes"); and they, replying, 遵命成肆 ("At your command we will abandon ourselves"), may do so without offence, unless some important person of exalted rank be present. When all have arrived, the host invites them to take their respective seats, but all decline the honour, and have to be "pressed," and exhorted not to stand upon ceremony. Perhaps the principal guest may at last accept his place, and make his apology to the others by saying, 佔坐, 恕放肆 = "I am usurping the chief seat; excuse my rudeness."

Excessive modesty in this connection is to be deprecated just as much as excess of boldness, and if the person, who is manifestly best entitled to sit in the highest seat, persists in declining the honour, the host will be put to considerable inconvenience. A useful method of avoiding such difficulties obtains on occasions of particular importance, and is as follows:

The host stands at the chief seat, and, holding up the wine-pot in his hand, calls out, "Brother So-and-so"; he then pours out a cup of wine, and, putting down the wine vessel, makes a respectful bow (揖). The guest replies with a similar gesture, and is compelled to accept the seat thus allotted to him; the other seats are appropriated in the same manner. Sometimes the guests will attempt to remonstrate, but no serious effort is made to refuse the seats thus arranged. The chief guest returns the compliment by pouring out a cup of wine for the host, and "inviting" him

with the usual bow, the remaining guests signifying their acquiescence by bowing in concert, the host protesting politely, "I dare not!" (不 敢). After these preliminaries the principal guest prepares to take his seat, and apologises as before, "I am taking a liberty in sitting here" (佔 坐), to which each of the others replies, "How dare I!" (豈 敢). The position of seats at the table depends on the position of the table itself, which may be placed in one of two ways: in one case it is so placed that the grain of the wood, or the joints between the two boards which form the top of the table, run parallel with the entrance to the room; and, in the other case, the grain or seam is set at right angles to the entrance. The sitting at the table in each case will be best illustrated by a sketch plan:

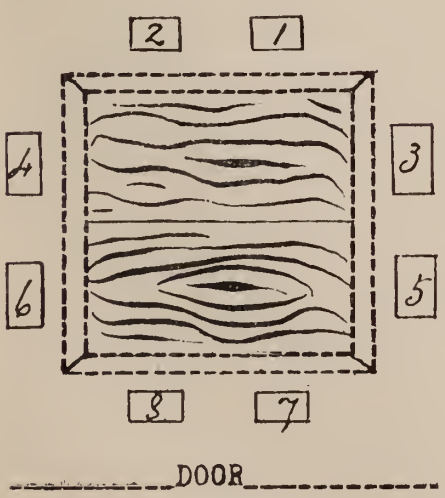

Fig. A.

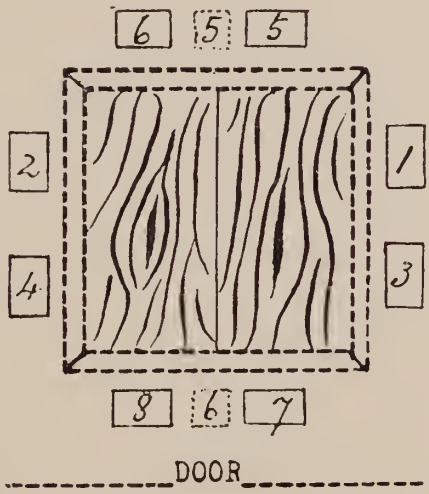

Fig. B.

The figures will indicate the order of the seats, in the case of the full number being seated at the

table, which is called the "Eight Genii table" (八仙桌). If there are only six diners, for instance, in the first case (A), the seats 7 and 8 will be removed; or in the second case (B), No. 5 seat, enclosed within the dotted square, will take the place of 5 and 6, and No. 6 be substituted for 7 and 8, as shown.

All the guests take their seats at the same moment, the host taking his a second or two later than the others. The host then pours the warm native spirit into the cups of the guests in order of precedence, if he has not already done so when arranging the seats, and then takes up his cup and invites the guests to drink, with the word "Ching" (請), waiting until they have applied their lips to their respective cups before sipping his own. The guests reply with thanks, and "invite" the host before drinking. In returning the cups to the table the same order is observed, the host replacing his cup after the others have done so. Conversation then begins, and the host helps the guests to the *hors d'œuvre*, which includes fruit, nuts, and sweets. The host himself takes little or no part in the conversation; his business is to attend to his guests; and he observes the Confucian motto, "Do not talk when eating," except when he is addressed by one of the guests. Several cups of wine are drunk, the host helping the guests in turn.

It may be advisable to remark that all topics which might be considered of ill-omen should be carefully avoided, and even expressions which might, by "double entendre," be unhappily so

interpreted—*i.e.* to refer to *death* or *sorrow* on an occasion of gladness; or to refer to *non-development*, in whatever connection, on a birthday celebration; and, again, to speak of "spots" if a member of the company is suffering from acne, or is marked by the ravages of smallpox; or to refer to the *Cyclops* if one of the guests happens to be minus an eye.

When the hot dishes are placed on the table, the host takes up his "chopsticks"—so called from the Cantonese pronunciation of the Chinese name "Chu" (筋), which seems to mean "bamboo helps" (to eating), the upper half of the character meaning "bamboo," the lower half meaning "to help"; the more usual name is "Kw'ai-tsz" (快子), or the "rapid ones"—and invites the guests to do the same, pointing to the first dish and inviting them to help themselves; the guests replying with the word "Ching" (請). The host helps himself last of all. If the chief guest, for any reason, should replace his chopsticks without taking anything from the dish, the other guests must do likewise, and it will then be necessary for the host to fish out a choice morsel, and place it on the chief guest's plate—a compliment which he acknowledges with a bow and a word of thanks, but does not necessarily regale himself. The compliment is returned by the guest, but not in kind—*i.e.* he should select a "tit-bit" from some other dish to present to his host. In all such cases the offerer says, 請. When once the chief guest is thus supplied, the other guests may then help themselves without compunction. The same rule

with regard to precedence is observed in partaking of each of the dishes in turn, and also in the drinking of wine. After the first few courses it is usual to make some complimentary remarks about the excellent repast which has been provided, and the host replies with self-depreciation, begging the guests not to make a laughing-stock of him.

When the various courses are finished, rice is sometimes brought in; but, in some cases, the guests may prefer to revert to the wine-cups. If one of the guests should be deficient in "wine capacity," the chief guest should notice this, and invite him to enjoy his rice first; and the guest, on receiving his bowl of rice, should invite the others with a graceful sweep of his chopsticks, and say, 飯陪, "Rice accompany"—*i.e.* "My rice will keep your wine company." When the guest has finished his rice, he should not lay down his chopsticks, but continue holding them until the chief guest, observing that he has finished, says, 請寬坐—*i.e.* "Please make yourself comfortable," literally, "sit at ease," after which the guest may excuse himself, saying, "In obedience to your command I will not keep company" (遵命不陪), and withdraw from the table. If, however, the chief guest should fail to notice that the other has finished his rice, the rice-eater may lose patience, and, with the word "I will not accompany you" (不陪), may leave the table. It is very important that foreigners in the interior of China should be conversant with these rules, for they generally find themselves, on such occasions, occupying the "chief seats"; and as the honoured

guest is considered to be the real "master of the ceremonies," and the polite methods of the other guests are all intended in his honour, he should at least be able to appreciate their meaning, and acknowledge them in due form, otherwise he may offend his fellow-guests, or be set down as a vulgar person who knows nothing of polite usages; for the majority of those present will possibly overlook the fact that a foreigner may be polite enough according to his own code, and yet be absolutely ignorant of Chinese ceremonials.

If all the guests elect to eat rice, the chief guest should manage to finish his bowl at the same time as the others. If he should finish first, the others will be forced to empty their bowls with inconvenient haste; and, on the other hand, the chief guest should not delay his eating too long, by conversation or otherwise, for then the other guests will be compelled to tarry over theirs until it becomes cold and indigestible.

In the middle of the feast the host may invite the chief guest to "guess the fist"—*i.e.* play the "morra" (豁拳), which is done by two persons each exposing a certain number of fingers, and guessing at the same time the aggregate number exposed, including those of the opposite person; the person who fails to guess is punished by having to drink a cup of wine. Before the guessing begins the host says to the guest, "Please let me off easily" (請讓), and the guest replies, 彼此 ("Let it be mutual"). The round is usually ended after three successful guesses, or sometimes five; but another method

is to use three counters which continue to change hands until, at last, all three are gained by one of the parties (something on the lines of "Beggar my Neighbour"); this is called the game of "Three Encounters" (三戰). The host invites all the guests in succession to "guess the fist" (but sometimes the chief guest is asked by the host to conduct the game, in cases where the host is inexpert), and the play becomes fast and furious, three couples, perhaps, playing simultaneously. The winner says to the loser, "You deliberately let me win" (承讓). The loser replies, "Your fist is immense" (洪拳)—*i.e.* "You play the game splendidly." A third method is sometimes employed in which three men take part. No words are uttered, and the fingers are silently held out. This method is very popular, as it lends itself to combination, and very often two men will combine against the third, and by concerted procedure will succeed in making him drunk. This game is not considered "good form" if elders or superior guests are present. There are many other games of forfeits, in connection with wine-drinking, which cannot be fully enumerated here, but in ordinary cases the non-drinker is allowed to excuse himself by saying, "I cannot play the morra" (我不能豁), or, "My wine capacity is poor to a degree" (我酒量淺), or he may delegate the part of either playing or drinking to another better qualified.

There are one or two points which are worthy of attention, especially in the case of foreigners in China, who may imagine that polite observances

may be altogether neglected in the company of the Chinese:

1. Avoid the appearance of greediness or haste in eating. Put down your chopsticks after each mouthful, and act as if the eating were the least consideration. Do not help yourself to gravy out of the central bowl until it is about half emptied of its solid contents. Do not continue pecking at the dish after the other guests have finished. As the proverb has it, "Do not be too fast in eating the meats, or too slow in eating rice."

2. Be careful not to infringe on your neighbour's section of the table, by placing your discarded fish-bones and other fragments in the space allotted to him. In this connection it may be well to remember that "rubbish may not be shot" under the nose of your fellow-guest. Bones and other fragments must not be thrown under the table, as this will invite the attention of dogs from all quarters, and internecine combats will take place under the table, to the detriment of the diner's calves. The "Book of Rites" has a special clause on this subject. It is better, on the whole, to avoid bony tit-bits, rather than make a great pile of fragments in front of you, and thus advertise your, apparently, great powers of consumption.

3. Do not drop pieces of food or grains of rice on the table in transit to your mouth. If you cannot conveniently handle the chopsticks, you had better revert to the porcelain spoon which you will find provided. Not a grain of rice can be allowed to remain on the table or in your

bowl; all must be finished, as waste in this respect would be considered not only a symptom of gross carelessness, but also an indication of grave forgetfulness of the painful toil which is expended in the cultivation of the "staff of life." One should avoid the use of the fingers in manipulating bones, etc., in the mouth; if such should be inadvertently entertained, they should be eliminated with the aid of the chopsticks.

When the rice is brought to the table the onslaught on the various viands becomes general, and it is not necessary to wait on the others, except in the case of an untasted dish—in such case it will be necessary to invite the others before partaking.

Face towels, dipped in warm or boiling water, are brought in at intervals, and presented to the guests in order. If for any reason—*e.g.* ignorance on the part of the servants—an inferior guest is helped first, he should put the matter right by handing the towel to the superior, or instructing the servant to do so. If the towel is presented by the host himself, the visitor should stand up and receive it with both hands. According to the rules of etiquette, itis not proper to rise from the table until the chief guest does so, but it is permitted, during the game of "morra" or at other intervals, for individual guests to take a stroll round the table and, perhaps, enjoy a pipe; but this is contrary to the strict rule, and should be avoided.

In eating rice at the conclusion of the meal, it is polite to wait for the others, and not finish

too quickly. When the senior guest has finished, he points with his chopsticks to the others in turn, saying, 慢用 ("Slowly eat")—*i.e.* "Don't be in a hurry"; and they reply, "Please sit at ease" (寬坐). The idea of this is that, according to the rule, all should cease eating as soon as the chief guest has finished his dinner, and he thus begs them not to be in a hurry to finish; the guest next in honour may do the same when he has finished, but the others may not do so, as they are not regarded as guests at all, but only "companions" to the two chief guests. If one of the "companions" should have occasion to leave the table immediately after dinner, he invites the others to "slowly use," and places his chopsticks respectfully across the top of his bowl, to indicate that, though absent in body, he in spirit still wishes to keep company with the others, the position of the chopsticks representing the fact that he has not yet finished his meal, as it were, and is still present. The same rule is observed when a guest finds himself unable to eat and does not like to put his chopsticks down; he then places them on the top of his bowl, and the chief guest, noticing this, takes them up by his own chopsticks and presents them to the other, saying, 請便 ("Please consult your own convenience"), thus releasing him from the obligation of either eating or sitting. If the guest elects to stay, he resumes his chopsticks, saying, "I dare not" (不敢), or he may say, "I respect your orders" (遵命), and depart. If the first and second guests have already finished,

it will be necessary to observe this ceremony with regard to the others remaining at the table. The chief guest is the first to leave the table, saying, as he does so, to the host, "Thank you; I have put you to great inconvenience" (敬謝費心); and the host replies, "You are too polite; I have treated you rudely" (客氣待慢). The other guests follow him to another apartment, where warm, wet towels are provided, and faces and hands rubbed. Tea and tobacco are furnished. The guests need not sit long, and when the chief guest is about to depart he makes a bow (揖) to the host, saying, "Many thanks, many thanks" (多謝); and the host responds, "I have treated you rudely." He is then escorted to the door by the host; the others stand up and make their bows, but do not accompany him. When the host returns, the others then take leave in a body. If, however, the chief guest has further business with the host, the other guests may first take their leave, saying, 告退 ("I inform you of my retiring"); and if the host offers to accompany them, they, or one of the party, should say, "There is an honourable senior here, please keep him company; I must not allow you to see me off" (有尊長在請陪不敢送).

The rule is for the host to send a sedan-chair to meet the guest, and also to take him home; but nowadays this is compounded for by paying the guests' chair-bearers for the return journey only. Amongst middle-class people it is thought considerate of the guest to walk, and thus save the host this extra expense.

After-dinner calls are not necessary, but it is customary to invite the host to a return feast after a reasonable interval.

It may be remarked that none is compelled perforce to drink or smoke at a Chinese banquet, and the abstainer may easily escape, without any special protestations, by simply allowing his cup and pipe to remain full and untouched, raising the former occasionally when toasted, and holding the latter in his hand.

Invitation to an Ordinary Feast

光
(敎)
敬祈便章　席設某地　某日午(申)刻潔樽候
某某拜訂

On such a day, at such a time, (I) with cleansed goblet await (your) lustre (or, "instruction"). The feast will be spread in such a place. (I) respectfully beg (you to wear) convenient costume (*i.e.* not full dress). So-and-so begs to consult (*i.e.* your convenience).

A Last Reminder

駕
速
某某頓首
(載)
(拜)

Quickly mount the chariot. So-and-so bows his head (or, "with respects").

Reminder of an Ordinary Feast

On such a day, at such an hour, a cleanly ordered cup of tea awaits (or, if a play is promised, the words "musical wine" should be substituted for "cup of tea") (your) lustre.

(Here follow the names and titles of the guests.)

So-and-so bows his head (or, "begs to consult").

某日某刻潔治杯茗候(有樂用音樽二字)

光臨某某某某

大老先生

大老爺八人

某某某某某
(1)(2)(3)(4)

Notes by the Four Invited Guests

No. 1 writes: "Thanks," (or, "Respectfully Thanks," or, "Accepted at heart, thanks").

No. 2: "(I) know, (I will) come" (or, "Respectfully accompany").

No. 3: "On behalf of the person invited, (I) know." (Written by some one other than the one invited.)

No. 4: "(I) know."

謝知到

(拜)頓知代知

(訂)首

敬陪

敬謝

心領

謝

A Form of declining an Invitation

謝

某某心領

So-and-so receives in the heart. Thanks.

Another Form

謝

敬此辭

某某拜

Respectfully (with) this declines, (with) thanks. So-and-so makes his bow.

Another Form

謝

某某敬

So-and-so respectfully thanks.

XIV

A WEDDING FEAST

Invitations to a wedding feast are issued to friends and relations some ten or fifteen days before the event, in order that due time may be allowed for the preparation of garments and for sending in the presents; for it is of importance, in many cases, that these latter should come in good time, otherwise the family may be put to the trouble and expense of providing articles which may afterwards be presented in more than sufficient quantity. The forms of invitation vary according to the age, sex, and degree of relationship of the invited. When near relations of an earlier generation are invited, the groom should carry the card of invitation and present it in person, sending a messenger a few days before to give due notice of his intended visit. It is usual on such occasions for the elder to send word by the messenger that the visit will be acceptable, and that the visitor need not stand on ceremony; to which the messenger will reply that ceremony is a matter of duty, and the host will respond that, at all events, the groom need not assume his ceremonial garments for the

THE KOTOW: THE KNEELING POSITION.

occasion. This permission is not generally availed of in well-to-do families, but amongst the poorer classes it is an important concession, as it allows the groom to visit his relations in ordinary costume and therefore on foot, by this means avoiding the extra expenditure which would fall on both parties if he should be forced to take a conveyance and be attended by servants, the return fare for which journey would, in ordinary cases, be borne by the family visited.

On arriving at the house, a servant who accompanies the visitor spreads a red mat upon the floor, upon which the groom kneels as he presents the card of invitation with both hands. The host may endeavour to dissuade the servant from spreading the mat, but the visitor should not omit the ceremony of kneeling. The person invited receives the card with a bow, and insists upon waiving any further politeness on the part of his visitor, declining to allow him to kneel again, as etiquette requires. The groom then rises and makes his bow. He then proceeds to present his compliments to the lady of the household; the mat is spread for him in the inner apartments and the salutation is repeated, the lady also insisting that he should not stand upon ceremony. On returning to the gentleman's chamber the visitor is invited to refresh himself, and the servant who accompanies him then pays his respects to the host by kneeling on one knee, and saying, "The small man knocks his head." He also is invited to refresh himself at a side table, perhaps with the chair-bearers, who are

also treated to refreshments if the visitor has come from a distance. A small present of money, rolled up in red paper, is also given to the servant and the bearers.

During the next few days the presents are sent in to the groom's house, consisting of wine, glutinous rice, money, candles, fish, meat, sheep with wool dyed red, and fowls with wings fastened with red cord, red paper covering everything which is of the wrong colour—*e.g.* the rice, which, being white, is of a funeral colour, and must be kept out of sight. Besides these there are scrolls of different kinds, and ornaments for the bridal chamber, each gift being accompanied by a "card," and the bearers being rewarded with a "consideration" of about 10 per cent. of the value.

In many cases a special man is employed to appraise the value of the presents and the amount to be paid in "cumshaws" (literally, "golden sand," an euphemism for a gratuity), the family thus being relieved of a double responsibility; avoiding, on the one hand, the danger of miscalculation; and, on the other, of being criticised by the donors, in cases where the "cumshaws" given should prove to be based on a low valuation of the presents. If, for instance, a friend had sent in a gift which cost $5, and the messenger who delivered it received only 20 cents as his "tip," this amount would be duly reported to the donor, and he would, naturally, be indignant at his gift being valued at $2 instead of $5, and would be inclined to blame the groom's

THE KOTOW: THE RISING POSITION (SUPERIOR ON RIGHT HAND).

family for either under-estimating his gift or of being guilty of "cheese-paring." Such a *contretemps* will be avoided by the employment of an expert.

The presents contributed by the bride's family consist largely of articles of household use, such as bedroom furniture of all sorts, crockery, kitchen utensils, etc., and are sent in, at the latest, three days before the wedding, accompanied by a "handbook" (手本) instead of the ordinary card.

If, for any reason, presents should be sent in on the day of the wedding, or a day or two before, by a friend who had not received an invitation, a special card, called 補帖, or "supplementary invitation," is handed to the bearers of the present, for transmission to their master. Gifts sent in after the wedding are declined, except in special cases, as the acceptance of them would involve the preparation of a separate feast for the benefit of the donor.

The female members of the family begin to assemble at the house about ten days before the wedding, and sometimes stay as long as ten days after the event; but the period of feasting is generally limited to three days—viz. the actual day of the wedding and the days preceding and following it.

The wedding takes place in the forenoon in some places, and in other places at midnight; the arrangements described below suppose the wedding to have taken place early in the day, and will be a sufficient guide to the etiquette

to be observed at the event, however it may be celebrated.

Foreign visitors are expected on the day of the wedding, the ladies at noon, and the gentlemen in the evening, all dressed in their best, and armed with vocabularies of congratulatory terms (generally conspicuous by their absence, as a matter of fact !). Ladies on arrival are met by the bride's attendants (喜娘), a special class of women employed for such occasions, who indicate the proper persons to whom congratulations are to be offered—*i.e.* the parents and brothers and sisters of the groom. (NOTE.—None of the bride's relations are present on this occasion.) To the father and mother of the groom the visitor is expected to express the hope that they will be able to embrace grandchildren and great-grandchildren in due course (長壽抱孫). To the groom the wish expressed is that the happy couple may live together for a hundred years and see five generations (百年好合五代榮封). To other relatives present the visitor contents herself by saluting in the usual feminine way (not by kissing, as in the West, but by holding the sleeve of the left hand with the right and moving the hands slightly up and down, as before described), and saying, "Congratulations" (賀賀), which the congratulated acknowledges by saying, "Good, good, good" (好好好)—an expression for which we have hardly an equivalent, and which is the subject of a Chinese proverb, "To say three 'goods' is to strike a chord of sympathy."

The ladies do not eat very much at the feast which follows, but prefer to take away as much as possible, the comestibles being divided among the guests at each table, and carried off to their homes in bowls, which are returned in due course, or in handkerchiefs specially provided for the occasion. This practice is not confined to wedding feasts, but is observed on all occasions of feasting, and is supposed to afford an illustration of women's "taking ways"! A separate table is provided for the bride, at which she sits, but does not partake of the viands. The food on this table becomes the property of her attendants, and they are at liberty to *resell* it to the host who has provided it.

In the afternoon, after the feast, the ladies adjourn to the bridal chamber to inspect the bride, who rises to greet them and invites them to drink tea. (NOTE.—The bride is not congratulated.) After a short space the guests bid farewell to their hosts, and depart.

The gentlemen assemble in the evening and salute the host, saying, "I have not been to congratulate you" (未來恭賀); to which he replies, "You are too polite," etc. (客氣). When the guests have all arrived, one of them—an elder relation whose wife is still alive, and whose family is a large one, including a good proportion of male children—is selected as chief, and invited to take the highest seat at the principal table. Other qualities are desiderated, such as age, wealth, and office; but the above are indispensable. Other guests are selected to occupy the chief

seats at the lower tables, the second places, etc. This is usually a signal for a long disputation—quite friendly, of course, but none the less objectionable—the honoured guests absolutely refusing to accept the high compliment paid them, and the host insisting upon their occupying the seats reserved for them. The struggle goes on sometimes for half an hour, and the patience of the other guests is tired out, insomuch that some take their seats without waiting for the principal guest, and some venture to remind him that "to obey is better than to be over-polite." Should the host fail to secure a suitable person possessing all the qualifications of the principal guest, he may be certain of being criticised in the future, and any misadventure which may happen to the newly married couple will be most certainly traced back to this source.

As soon as the guests have taken their seats, the groom goes round each table and pours out the wine for the guests in succession, the bride meanwhile appearing within the door, supported by her attendants. When the groom has finished his task of helping the wine, he takes his stand by the side of the bride and makes a bow (揖) to the assembled guests, who rise from their seats in acknowledgment of the compliment. Those whose seats are placed sideways do not turn round to face the groom, and others whose seats are facing him turn their faces the other way; the idea being that to look towards the groom would mean receiving his salute as specially intended for themselves—which the guests are,

by the way, "unworthy" to do—and so they either look along their noses, or execute a *volte face*, to avoid the appearance of arrogance or self-appreciation.

The bride and groom then withdraw, and the banquet proceeds. When about half-way through the groom again appears, and presents a large goblet of wine to the chief guests at the several tables, who in turn rise from their seats to receive it. The groom again retires to the end of the room, where the bride awaits him, makes another bow, which is acknowledged by the chief guests, and takes his departure. The chief guest now invites the guests at the other tables to begin the game of "morra," the principal men at the two chief tables challenging each other. Three rounds are thus played, and then the game becomes general at the other tables.

Note.—The arrangement of the tables at a wedding feast is different from that of other occasions. The following diagram will best illustrate the method, which is known as the "canoe formation," as it is supposed to represent the "paddlers" in a canoe sitting all on one side. The inner side of the tables, it will be observed, is unoccupied in all cases, in order to allow a free passage for the waiters.

At the close of the game the chief guests at No. I. table, and the corresponding guests at No. II., rise from their places, bathe hands and face in hot water which is brought in for the purpose, and assume their ceremonial robes and hats. They then proceed to the bridal chamber,

followed by all the guests. A table is spread just inside the door, laden with sweetmeats, fruits, lighted candles and burning incense, and three wine cups; this is called, "Felicitating the Groom-table" (賀郎桌). The chief guest takes up a wine-vessel, and fills the middle cup, saying, "This is for reverencing Heaven"; he then

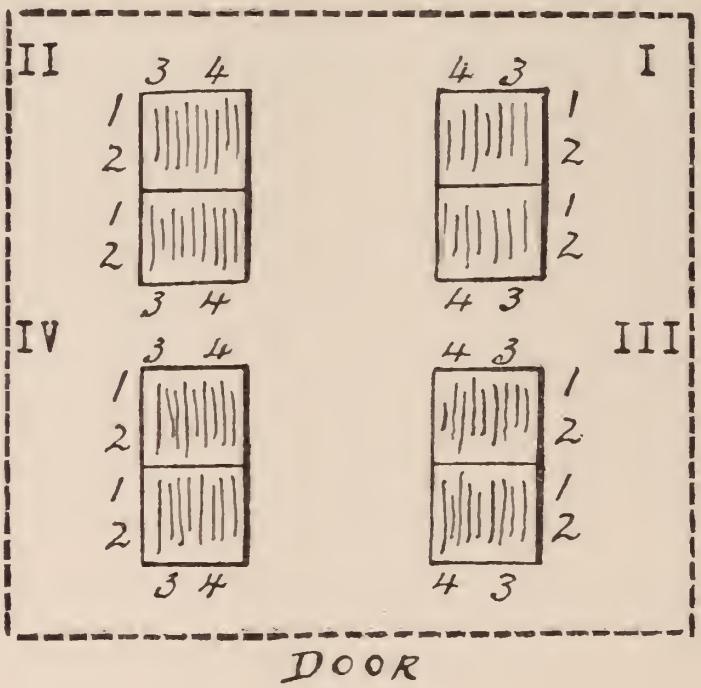

Fig. C.

fills the right-hand cup, saying, "This is to reverence Earth"; the third cup is then filled with the words, "This is to reverence the Emperor." (Heaven is thus honoured because it covers the people, Earth because it supports them, and the Emperor because he is the great landlord.) He then changes places with the

groom, who has been standing at his left hand up to this (the idea being that after due reverence has been paid to the high powers, Heaven, Earth, and King, the groom is now to occupy the place of honour and receive his meed of respectful homage), and fills two other cups, which are placed between the candles at the other side of the table, making a bow to the groom when the wine has been poured out. He then takes up one cup and hands it to the groom, and, taking up the other cup in his hands, "invites" (請) the groom, saying, "May you both live together a hundred years and have a large posterity to five generations!" (百年偕老五世其昌). Both toss off their cups, and expose the bottoms to show that there are "no heeltaps." This is repeated three times; the only difference being that the same words are not repeated, some other felicitous sentiment being substituted each time. When the third cup is drunk, the two parties bow to each other, and the chief guest withdraws in favour of the guest next in importance, who repeats the performance, using only a different form of words. The bride all this time is standing in front of the nuptial couch.

As soon as the toasting is over, the guests come forward and "grab" all they can of the fruit, etc., on the table, and great excitement is shown in the effort to become possessed of a share. The feast is then resumed in the Banqueting Hall, and the groom also doffs his ceremonial garments and joins the guests in their merriment and "finger-guessing."

When the feast is over, the company repairs to the bride's chamber to "drink the bride's tea" (吃新婦茶). The lady rises to meet them, and is requested to resume her seat. A female attendant stands at her side holding a candle in her hand, and invites the guest to "take stock" of the bride, either showing off her points by the light of the candle, or taking orders from the guests, who request to be shown whatever features they may desire to inspect, and loudly express their admiration as each new beauty is revealed to them.

This practice, known as 鬧新娘, or "Teasing the Bride," is sometimes carried to such excess that the bride's arms are exposed to the elbow, and her knees are also exhibited, and questionable jests are made with the intention of making her blush or smile. When the play is over, tea is brought in, and presented by the bride to the guests, who insist upon her addressing them by certain familiar names, which she finds very difficult to pronounce, the guest meanwhile refusing to take tea from her unless she complies with his demand. All this is intended to create laughter at the bride's expense.

The groom and his father do not appear at this scene, unless, as sometimes happens, the former is dragged into the room by his friends, who make him sit by the bride, while they expose him and her to all kinds of riotous fun.

This may continue for an hour or so, and then the guests present their compliments to the host and take their departure; but practical joking at

the expense of the newly married couple continues, sometimes, for a whole month after the wedding; and midnight visits are paid to the house by friends of the couple, in league with the female visitors still staying on the premises; and articles of bedding or wearing apparel are abstracted from the bridal chamber, so as to prevent the parties getting out of bed. Eaves-dropping or peeping are indulged in, and a great variety of other doubtful "pleasantries."

Forms of Invitation to a Wedding

Invitation to a Family

The ..... month ..... day has been selected by the astrologer as the day of my son .....'s wedding.

Your whole family is respectfully invited to shed lustre upon a cleanly ordered marriage feast.

.....'s compliments (*lit.* "bows the head").

Present address, ...

某兒成婚筮某月某日潔治喜酌恭邀
闔第光臨
某某頓首

Invitation to a Female Friend

The ..... month ..... day has been selected by the astrologer as the day of my son .....'s wedding.

Your shagreen carriage is respectfully invited to a cleanly ordered marriage feast.

.....'s compliments (*lit.* "hands sleeved on the lapel").

魚軒 某兒成婚筮某月某日潔治喜酌恭迓
某氏襝衽

Invitation to a Male Friend

The ..... month ..... day has been selected by the astrologer as the day of my son .....'s wedding.

The light of your presence is awaited at a cleanly ordered marriage feast.

.....'s compliments (*lit.* "bows the head").

Present address, ...

光 某兒成婚筮某月某日潔治喜酌俟
某某頓首
現居某地

Receipt for a Gift

謝

某某領

敬使若干

So-and-so receives, (with) thanks.
Honorarium to the bearer, so much.

Refusal of a Gift

謝

某某璧

敬使若干

So-and-so returns, (with) thanks.
Honorarium to the bearer, so much.

Invitation to a Guest who has been Overlooked, on the Occasion of the Wedding Feast

光
(教)

(即)翌午潔治喜酌侯

某某頓首

The light of your presence (or, your "Instruction") is awaited at a cleanly ordered marriage feast to-morrow (or, to-day) at noon.

.....'s compliments.

XV

A BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION

When the eldest son has reached the age of one month, it is usual for his parents to provide a feast, which is called "Full-month wine" (滿月酒). Daughters are not generally treated to any such honour. Parents do not usually announce the fact of the birth, lest they should be suspected of touting for presents. It is customary for friends to take the initiative by asking the question, "When will the month be completed?" in order that they may send in their offerings; and it is in acknowledgment of these gifts that the feast is spread. The birthday presents are sent in five or ten days before the month has expired, and consist of vermicelli, which conveys the idea of long life because of its long strips; silver ornaments, such as small figures of Genii, Arhats, etc., for the head-dress; or embroidered clothing of a red colour. The presents are carefully catalogued, and the donors invited to a feast as above stated. It is polite to give a verbal invitation rather than a written one, or if "cards" are written, the feast is described as "Bath-biscuit feast" (湯餅酒), which means that the youth

is to have his first ceremonial bath, his head shaved, and that biscuits or cakes will be served to the visitors. (There is no connection between this title and the historic "bath-bun.") This observance in early times used to take place on the third day after birth. A large scroll, representing the star of Longevity, or the character for longevity (壽), is hung up, and two candles lighted in front of it. The visitors are invited to witness the operation of washing, shaving, and dressing, and then the baby is held up in front of each and is made to salute them in turn, the guests making appropriate remarks, such as, "He's a fine youth—may he live to a hundred"; "May he study deeply the four books"; "May he, without fail, become Senior Classic," at the same time lifting the baby's cap and admiring his head or his general appearance; and then, turning to the father, the guests in turn say, "Congratulations! he will become a High Mandarin one of these days"; "He is undoubtedly a charming boy." The father modestly replies, "You are making game of me. I trust entirely to you for his future welfare." The guests then partake of the feast. (The polite phraseology to be used on such occasions is given elsewhere.)

A large bowl of vermicelli, ready cooked, is sent to the house of each donor during the afternoon, or, in some places, eggs, stained red, are sent instead. This presentation of vermicelli has passed into a proverb, and a Chinese is often heard to ask a friend, "Has your wife any vermicelli to eat?" which means, "Has there

been a birth at your house lately?" and if he replies, "A young puppy was born at such a time," the other says, "I'll come and eat vermicelli at the full month," which indicates his intention of giving a birthday present.

When parting from the host the guests say, "We have had the birth feast to-day; may the wedding feast soon follow!"

At the end of the first year another feast is arranged, called 周歲 ("The circle of the year") or 鬧周 ("The noisy revolution"), and presents are given similar to those mentioned above. The "longevity" picture is hung up as before, and candles lighted. The youngster is carried in, and made to salute the guests in turn. A table is placed in the middle of the room, and on this a large tray containing miscellaneous articles, such as books, writing materials, official seals, weapons, sacrificial vessels, gambling paraphernalia, etc., and the child is allowed to help himself to whatever attracts his eye, the guests meanwhile watching with great interest, for the choice made on this occasion is said to indicate what the child will adopt as a vocation in the future. It is related that Confucius, when a child, took up some weapons in his left hand and sacrificial utensils in his right, thus encouraging the hope that he would prove, in course of time, to be qualified to engage, with equal facility, in either of the two great departments of national service, the military and the civil; or, as it might be interpreted, that he would be able to dispense with war by the substitution of religious obser-

vances, the right hand, equipped with sacred weapons, overcoming the weaker left, armed with instruments of war.

Whatever choice is made, the guests applaud loudly; and even if the child should pick up something undesirable, they will try to make the best of it, and pretend to see some good meaning in the unfortunate selection. This practice is in some places dying out, as experience has shown it to be an uncertain guide to the future, and very frequently only a cause of distress and disappointment to the parents, who expect to see a happy selection made by the young hopeful. The feast then follows as before.

In wealthy families the birthday celebrations are repeated at the completion of each tenth year (or *great* birthday).

When parents reach the age of fifty, or, at the earliest, forty, and presents are brought, a feast is prepared, at which the son, if there be one, usually does the honours. The presents consist of cakes, "peach" bread (representing the fruit of the fairy peach-tree in the garden of the Western Queen-Mother, which flowers only once in three thousand years, and whose fruit, when eaten, endows the lucky possessor with immortality), candles, vermicelli, crackers, and scrolls of different kinds. The presents are accompanied by a red paper (手本), folded several times, on which is written, in small characters, the office and name of the donor, except in the case of equals or familiar acquaintances, when an ordinary card will suffice. All the prepared gifts are

accepted, except money, which is sometimes sent in addition to the other things, and which need not be accepted. Presents of money from superiors, however, should be retained until after the feast, and then sent back with compliments. A number of loaves are sent, in return for the presents, to each of the donors. The servant who brings the gifts receives a "cumshaw" of 10 per cent., and takes back a card of acknowledgment from the recipient, or from the eldest son if he is conducting the affair.

Invitations are not usually issued, as it would be immodest to invite people to come and congratulate oneself; but the date of the birthday is made known amongst the friends of the person, who present their gifts some three or five days before the birthday arrives, and provision must therefore be made to receive them when they come in person to pay their respects. Sometimes an important birthday passes unnoticed, and it is then permissible to celebrate it at a later date, provided that it is not later than the close of the year. In some cases the celebration takes place before the event, as, for instance, when the person interested is about to travel to some distant part. The person whose birthday is being celebrated does not often appear on these occasions, his modesty preventing him from accepting so much honour.

A company of singers or actors is sometimes hired for the occasion, and the festivities begin the evening before the birthday. A repast is prepared in view of the stage, which is erected

within the precincts, and the host puts on his ceremonial garments, and places the first bowl of comestibles with becoming ceremony on the table, the guests all rising and leaving their chairs, and, when the host makes a profound bow to them, they acknowledge the salute in due form. The chief guests on the occasion are requested to indicate the plays which they would wish to have performed, and care is exercised in selecting plays which have some reference to birthday celebrations. The person who selects the play is expected to give the players an extra "tip"; but the host sometimes insists on taking this on himself. The visitors generally spend the night with their host, the play continuing until the morning; and in the early hours, say, between four and five, the ceremony of worshipping the "star of Longevity" (who is identified with the star Canopus) takes place. Offerings of food are placed on the altar in front of his picture. Candles are lighted in pairs of 5, 7, or 9, representing so many generations, which it is hoped the person will live to see. When the sacrifice is completed, the guests in turn "worship the birthday" (賀生日), kneeling down and rising in front of the candles four times, whilst the host, standing at the side of the building, acknowledges these compliments by kneeling in response, except in cases where the guests are of his own age. If one of the guests is senior to the person whose birthday is being celebrated, the host will endeavour to prevent him from kneeling in this way.

Although the chief person on these occasions is generally absent, and the task of receiving and entertaining the guests devolves upon the eldest son, it sometimes happens, in cases where the person is aged and the son has already attained distinction, that the father shows himself to his well-wishers; and in this case the kneeling takes place before him instead of before the candles, and the acknowledgments are made by the son, or, in the case of an old mother, celebrating her seventieth or eightieth birthday, the guests will request to be admitted to her presence in order to pay their respects.

When the birthday is that of a female, the picture of 麻姑, a fairy damsel of Taoist fame, is substituted for the "longevity star."

Should any of the guests fail to arrive or to partake of the feast, the host should see that, after an interval of a few days, they are invited to a "complementary" feast, and a "round-robin" is circulated the day before as a reminder.

Return visits are paid to the houses of the senior guests after the third day by the son, or the actual person, if a junior, and presents of four large buns are made, called, "Thank birth(day) bread" (謝生饅頭).

XVI

PURCHASING LAND, RENTING HOUSES, ESTABLISHING PREACHING CHAPELS, ETC.

In renting a house or a chapel in new places great caution should be observed, for it may be taken for granted that in such places, where foreigners have not resided, the people will be very much exercised in their minds by the event, and it is therefore necessary to proceed on diplomatic lines. The first and most important step is to make friends with the most influential of the local gentry, scholars, or tradesmen, for by this means only can the business be carried through satisfactorily. When this good will is once secured, difficulties will vanish; but if this be overlooked, there will inevitably be trouble and heart-burning.

The first step is to inquire who is the most important person in the village or town which it is proposed to occupy, and then to find out who is acquainted with him in the city or district from which it is proposed to extend operations. An introduction will be easily arranged, and the visitor should provide himself with some suitable present of food-stuffs when making his first call, accompanied by the mutual friend who is arranging

for the introduction. At the interview the object of the proposed residence in the place should be fully stated, and the kind assistance of the "great man" solicited. Inquiry should be made as to the possibility of obtaining a suitable house, the name of the landlord, and the proper amount payable for rent. It would be advisable further to ascertain the number of "tables" which should be provided, and the names of other influential persons in the neighbourhood, with their order of precedence, with a view to the orderly arrangement of seats at the forthcoming "house-warming."

Friendly relations should be established with the surrounding gentry, and if it be discovered that one more worthy than the rest resides in the district, a special effort should be made to gain his sympathetic assistance; for in cases of "persecution" or other trouble, his reputation and character for honesty will make his advice in such cases invaluable.

In buying land a similar procedure should be observed, and the good will of the local gentry secured if possible, for only thus will the purchaser avoid the serious trouble which frequently arises; as, for instance, when land is sold to foreigners by fraudulent persons who possess little claim to the land in question, and sometimes take on themselves to dispose of property which has been the subject of dispute for generations. Special care should be observed when land is offered for sale at a low figure.

When hospitals, orphanages, etc., are estab-

lished, it will be found advisable to invite the local officials and gentry to visit and inspect the premises from time to time; and, in some cases, regular visitors may be appointed from amongst their number. This will be found to have an excellent effect in allaying the suspicion which so often attaches to such institutions, and which has been the occasion of so many disturbances in different parts of the country. It is also calculated to elicit the sympathy and co-operation of the upper classes, who are generally very open-handed when their interest is aroused.

It sometimes happens that Chinese religious buildings or landed property are offered to missionaries as a free gift for the purpose of establishing schools, etc. In such cases the missionary shall be careful to insist that such transference should be arranged with the full consent of all parties concerned in the transaction, and with the formal sanction of the magistrates, otherwise serious difficulties may ensue, as such offers are sometimes made by unauthorised persons, or part-owners, with the object of injuring some of the other principals concerned. However desirable such acquisition may seem, it should be decidedly rejected unless the proceedings are conducted in an absolutely straightforward way.

The terms of the lease should be drafted by the friendly resident, or submitted to him for approval if drawn up by the landlord; and if corrections are made after consultation, the amended copy should be again referred to him before signing. The lease should state the amount of rent, of

deposit to be paid down before taking possession, the amount to be paid to the house-agent or middleman, to the writer of the lease, if a stranger is employed for this purpose, and the sum to be paid to the landlord in lieu of the special feast to which he is entitled.

When the arrangements are complete, the "Neighbour's Wine," or "Entering-house Wine" (進屋酒), must be arranged, and as many tables prepared as are recommended by the chief man of the village; and, in addition to these, another "table," or a repast sufficient for eight persons, should be sent to the chief man's house, as he is considered too "big" to take a place with the "common herd."

In the event of the chief man inviting the foreigner to a meal at his house, it will be necessary to entertain him in return when the house-warming and other arrangements are concluded.

The foreigner should be present at the house-warming, and cordially receive and affably entertain his guests, apologising for the poverty of the viands, and bespeaking the assistance of his new neighbours in their mutual intercourse in the future.

The sum paid as deposit, or caution-money, varies from the amount of three months' rent to that of one year; it is not generally returned, but is credited as rent from the time of notice of removal. Houses are usually leased for a term of three years, and rent is paid quarterly.

If the house is vacated by the tenant before the

lease has expired, he cannot claim a return of the caution-money, but must trust to the generosity of the landlord with regard to compensation. Should, however, a "notice to quit" be served upon the tenant before the expiration of the lease, the landlord must return the caution-money, and also defray the expenses of moving.

The time required for notice to quit, on either side, corresponds to the period covered by the caution-money; thus, if the deposit amounts to three months' rent, then three months' notice is given; or, if the deposit amounts to one year's rent, one year's notice is required: hence it happens that the caution-money is retained to cover the amount of rent, and no further payment is required on the part of the tenant during the period of notice.

The rule does not appear to be invariable, and different districts may have different usages.

Land is transferred from one party to another by means of a deed of sale or mortgage. It is advisable to inquire what title to the property the would-be vendor possesses; and if his proofs consist of title-deeds (地契), they should be transferred to the purchaser together with the new deed of sale. If the original deeds cannot be discovered, a note is added to that effect in the new deed, and they are regarded as cancelled. In such cases very careful inquiry as to ownership should be instituted before purchasing.

The deed of sale (契) is furnished by the vendor, and signed by him and the middlemen, of whom there should be at least two, one of whom should

represent the purchaser; sometimes as many as eight or ten are "dragged in," as the Chinese phrase for "inviting" a middleman puts it. The purchaser does not sign the deed. Arrangements are concluded by the middlemen in consultation with each party individually. The deed is prefaced by the words, "Establishing a deed of perpetual sale (or lease) (立永[賣]賃地契). So-and-so, being at present in need of money for legitimate expenditure, has, of his own free will, called in middlemen with a view to dispose of the land inherited from ancestors (or parents, or self-acquired), so many acres (or smaller sections), situate at a certain place, and bounded on the several sides by such and such landmarks, which he is prepared, voluntarily, to sell (or lease) in perpetuity to So-and-so to be his possession; the three parties having already definitely decided on selling (or leasing) it at such a price, which money has this day been received in full and put to the private account of the undersigned for legitimate expenditure." (NOTE.—Though recorded as paid in full, only half is actually paid, and the other half is handed over when the property is delivered to the purchaser, generally some three months later.) "Hereafter, at convenience (of the purchaser), the surrender will be registered, the change of ownership officially recognised, and the payment of taxes devolve upon the new owner; the land may be cultivated or disposed of to others, and buildings removed or erected without let or hindrance. No claims to part ownership can be put forward by any of my relatives with regard to

this land, nor has it been transferred or mortgaged to any one else. In the event of the land being redeemed by me in the future, the purchase-money will be returned in full without any deductions or impositions.

"If any of the conditions herein agreed to should be contravened, I will relieve the purchaser of all responsibility and undertake the settlement.

"Both parties voluntarily consent to the above arrangements. Whereof this deed is a witness and pledge."

On the reverse side is written the date, the names of the purchaser and the relatives interested (if any), then those of the middlemen, and further down the names of the writers of the deed. The names are all written by the same hand, but each of the signatories subscribes his private cypher (花押). Seals should not be used, as they are liable to be called in question.

NOTE.—All numerals are written in their full form, the abbreviated form being easily altered; thus "one" is written 壹, not 一. The character 正 or 整 is added to prevent the addition of fractions.

Interpolations or corrections may be made where necessary, but must be confirmed by a note at the foot of the deed, above the signatures; and if there is any right-of-way or water-approach connected with the property, this also should be clearly stated in this place, and the owners of the property through which the right-of-way or canal runs should be invited to witness the deed.

One of the most important items to be remem-

bered in this connection is that of water access. The Chinese have a proverb, "When you buy arable land, buy the water-passage; when you buy building land, buy the footpath." Which means that arable land without means of flooding, for the cultivation of rice, is useless; and building land is of no use which is not connected with the public road. In buying arable land, therefore, this item must be specially stipulated at the foot of the deed—*i.e.* the means by which the land can be irrigated and drained; and if no direct access to the water can be procured, then the owners of the adjoining lands, over which the water must be conveyed, should be asked to add their signatures to the deed. Should this provision be inadvertently omitted, it is not at all unlikely that the neighbours will, with one consent, deny that there ever existed any such right, and the new possessor may find himself "stranded" in a very literal and painful sense; and he may not be able to bring the neighbours to terms except by "paying through the nose" for his incaution.

Note.—When the boundary of a property extends to the middle of a street, the boundary stone is set up at the side of the street, and the amount of extra area accruing to the lot is duly inscribed upon it.

Sometimes a quantity of lime is buried in the ground instead of a boundary stone, in which case the substitution must be noted in the deed, and "boundary lime" be written instead of "boundary stone."

When boundaries are delimited, some official

representative, a "tipao" or other officer, must be present in order to ensure that the property of neighbouring landowners is not infringed.

When the deed is presented at the yamen for registration, another sheet, bearing the official seal, is gummed to it, called a deed "tail" (契尾), on which are stated the names of the buyer and seller, the district where the land is situated, the number of the lot in the official register, the amount of the transfer fee paid, and the annual sum to be paid as land tax. Upon the place where the two sheets are joined together another impression is stamped, a third being impressed upon the clause in the deed where the amount of money paid is stated.

Such a deed is called a "red deed" (紅契). If, however, the transaction is not registered at the yamen, the deed is known as a "white deed" (白契). Sometimes two deeds are drawn up, one stating the actual amount paid, and the other specially prepared for presentation to the yamen, and giving a much reduced figure, with a view to escaping the imposition of the full amount of land tax. The deed of sale should be carefully scrutinised by the purchaser, who must assure himself that the measurements are correctly represented and the boundaries carefully defined. He must also insist on the actual price to be paid being stated, and not a proportion thereof, as mentioned above.

Land is never "sold" in theory to foreigners in China, but always "leased," and this fiction is observed in the deeds of transference, the law

of the land not admitting of sale to foreigners outright.

Middlemen are employed in almost all affairs in China; in the case of land transference they are usually friends or neighbours of the interested parties, or in some cases are called in, not because of any help they may render, but in order to anticipate any opposition on their part. They act as brokers and agents, as well as witnesses to the transaction. In some places it is necessary that the local "tipao," or beadle, should be asked to attach his seal to the deed, before it can be presented at the yamen, and he is entitled to a small *douceur* for his services.

The middlemen are entitled to a percentage of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. each, supposing that two are employed —*i.e.* 3 per cent. on the total—or an equal division of the 3 per cent. if more than two are called in. When building land is sold, a sum amounting to 10 per cent. is divided amongst them. In the case of houses changing hands, the middlemen receive 2 per cent. each, or 4 per cent. on the total. The writers of deeds, leases, etc., in all cases receive 1 per cent. each. These commissions are paid by the purchaser.

The names of all interested in the sale should appear in the deed—*e.g.* brothers, mother, uncles, etc.—in cases where the father is already dead, and this is observed even in the event of the land being already divided. A man may not sell his own exclusive property without the consent of his brothers, etc., whose own separate shares are not involved in the sale.

When the deed is signed, it should be presented by the purchaser to the local magistrate for confirmation and transference (foreigners should never consent to the use of the "white deed," which is quite unparliamentary, not to say "shady"), together with a certificate of relinquishment (除 票) of the land in question, signed by the late owner; and the land is duly registered under the name of its new owner, and the usual taxes are charged to him. A small registration fee is charged at the yamen, nominally 3 per cent. on the amount of purchase-money, but sometimes equal to twice as much, on account of sundry extra charges which are extorted from the amateur speculator.

When a house is purchased the registration, etc., are not required; the official merely stamps the deed of sale, charging a small percentage on the purchase-money.

Cases have been known where the deed of sale has been set aside by the mandarin because the terms were so unfavourable to the seller, who was forced perhaps to sell the land at a very low rate on account of poverty or immediate need of money.

Note.—At the Treaty ports registration is effected by the purchaser's Consul and the Chinese authorities. The usual (Chinese) registration fee is, in such cases, remitted.

Taxes are always paid by the landlord, whether on houses or land. Foreigners, however, though nominally only tenants (the instruments by which the land is surrendered them being marked

"lease," or "perpetual lease," instead of "sale"), are expected to pay taxes as virtual landlords, and by this means they are recognised as the actual owners of the land, which is, by a legal quibble, only leased to them; for he who pays the land tax is the owner of the property.

Tax receipts should be carefully preserved, as renewed claims for payment of fees already tendered is not unknown in badly managed yamens; and, further, the tax receipts are regarded as an important confirmation of ownership in cases of dispute.

Buildings erected by the tenants upon land which is leased remain the property of the tenants, and may be removed at the expiry of the lease, or may be disposed of to the landlord at a figure mutually agreed upon.

When land which contains trees or squared stones is purchased, the trees, etc., are not included in the purchase-money, and must be stipulated for independently, otherwise the seller is entitled to remove them within a stated period. Where large trees are found, the seller may attempt to force the new landlord to buy them from him, threatening to cut them down if suitable terms are not forthcoming. Such threatenings may generally be disregarded, as the Chinese are very diffident about destroying trees of any large dimensions, which are supposed to be the abodes of "Tree Gods," and therefore must not be interfered with.

XVII

TRANSFER OF PROPERTY BY MORTGAGE

The deed of mortgage is couched in similar terms to that of a deed of sale, the title-deeds are handed over to the mortgagee, and the transaction is regarded as a sale of the property; but a rider is added to the effect that possession is limited to a certain period of time, and that, if the property be redeemed before the expiration of that period, the money expended by the purchaser in fees to middlemen, etc., must be made good. For this reason the Chinese say, "The head is dead, but the tail is living": in other words, the first part of the deed assumes that the transaction is a permanent one and irrevocable, but the final clause gives indication of elasticity and accommodation.

It should be noted that in the case of a mortgage the expenses incurred in the employment of middlemen, etc., are shared by the contracting parties, and not by the purchaser only, as in the case of a sale. If the property is not redeemed before the full term has been reached, the original price is paid as redemption-money, and there is

no compensation for fees and other disbursements.

According to the statute of the eighteenth year of the Emperor Kienlung, the land, etc., must be redeemed within the space of thirty years, after which period it becomes the undisputed property of the mortgagee, unless a special clause has been inserted in the deed to the effect that this condition will be disregarded by both parties.

It is interesting to notice that the *land* is supposed to be lent, and not the money—that is to say, the owner can claim to have his land returned to him, but the lender cannot demand his money back unless the mortgagor takes the initiative; his only alternative is to submortgage the land on the same terms as those on which he has received it. In other words, the transaction might be better described as "vifgage," or a "living pledge," rather than "mortgage," or "dead pledge," since the land, etc., transferred continues to be regarded as the property of the mortgagor; the mortgagee demanding no interest for the money lent, but reimbursing himself out of the usufruct of the property which he holds.

The Chinese sometimes mortgage the houses in which they live to two different parties at the same time, paying rent to each for a time, and then suddenly disappearing; having thus disposed of their property for nearly double its value, each of the mortgagees having advanced almost the full value on it. In such cases the person whose deed bears the earliest date becomes the owner; the other has no resource.

In case a house mortgaged to a person should be burnt down, being uninsured, the transaction is regarded as finished; the money is not returned, but the land which was included in the mortgage is equally divided between the mortgagor and mortgagee as a perpetual possession.

When land is mortgaged as security for money which is borrowed for a short period, the lender is at liberty to demand the return of his money when the period has expired. A new deed is not drawn up, but the original title-deeds to the property, together with a memorandum of the transaction, are deposited with the lender, the middlemen's fees, etc., being paid by the borrower.

It is not necessary in case of mortgage to register at the yamen, or arrange for transfer to the name of the mortgagee; the land or house is supposed to continue to be the property of the borrower, and he is responsible for taxes and other charges upon it.

Three months' notice on either side is required before concluding the arrangement, except in the case of arable land, which is not resigned until after the next harvest, and cannot be demanded except after notice served at the season of "White Dew," which occurs generally in the eighth moon.

XVIII

UNCLAIMED LAND

Land which has, for whatever reason, been abandoned by its owners, or to which no claim to ownership is advanced, is regarded as the property of the Crown, and may be allotted by the officials to any person who will undertake to cultivate it. A certificate is issued by the local magistrate giving the person the right to cultivate the land; and, in some cases, money is advanced to enable a poor person to purchase a buffalo for ploughing and seeds for planting.

No taxes are paid on such land for some years, according to the character of the land, whether alluvial or hilly, in order to give the prospector a fair start. After this initial period has passed, the land is officially surveyed and taxes assessed. This is known as Shengko (陞科).

Owners whose property marches with a closed creek are entitled to reclaim and fill in the creek to half its width; thus, if the owners on both sides decide upon reclaiming, the creek accordingly ceases to exist. In navigable creeks or rivers, however, the banks on each side, as far

as high-water mark, are regarded as the property of the Government. All accretions from alluvial deposits, or lands formed by the shrinkage of water surface, revert to the Crown, and can only be acquired by riparian proprietors after formal application to the local authority, for official investigation and survey. In such cases the riparian owner has the right of pre-emption against all private claimants, and his claim is generally recognised by Government, unless the newly acquired property is appropriated for public purposes. In cases where a landowner has lost territory, by attrition, on one side of his estate, and gained, by accretion, on another side, he is given a first claim on the newly deposited soil; but can only establish his claim after reference to the proper officials, and by due payment of whatever additional land tax may be assessed, though such will not be immediately imposed, in view of the fact that the new land is likely to be for some time unremunerative, and cannot be classed with the arable land which has been surrendered. It may happen that the newly acquired land is in excess of what was lost, in which case the taxes will be increased; or the proprietor may be, on the whole, a loser by the exchange, in which case he is granted a proportionate reduction. The rule also holds good in cases where the area of land is reduced by subsidence or other causes—the owner is entitled to claim a reduction of the land tax in view of the shrinkage of his property. In some cases the new land is appropriated, as in the case of waste

lands, or sold to the highest bidder should it prove to be valuable.

The point of importance to notice in these cases is the necessity of giving due notice to the officials, for, if this is neglected, in the one case, the sufferer will continue to pay taxes on land which has ceased to profit him; and, in the other case, should he attempt to take advantage of land which does not properly belong to him, he may be mulcted to the extent of being deprived of what he lawfully possesses.

XIX

GRATUITIES, CONTRIBUTIONS, ETC.

The foreigner in China, whilst avoiding ostentation and the appearance of unbounded wealth, should also beware of appearing niggardly and devoid of public spirit. A generous and sympathetic attitude may make the presence of the foreigner not only tolerable, but welcome, and the demands on his purse may really amount to very little after all is said and done. There are certain gratuities which are reasonable and just, and which should be cheerfully dispensed by the foreigner in common with ordinary citizens; they do not obtain in all cases or in all places, but, where indicated, should not be refused or called in question.

One is the "Tipao," or beadle's (地保) triannual application for "festival money" (抽豐) on the occasion of the Dragon-boat Festival—*i.e.* the fifth day of the fifth moon—the Mid-Autumn Festival, on the fifteenth of the eighth moon, and again at the end of the year. The common people do not give annual gratuities in this way, but pay for actual service rendered. It is, however, to the interest of the foreigner to respond to the beadle's

festal greeting, and give him a small present on these three occasions, not so much as a reward for service, but as a contribution towards the provision of the special delicacies which are peculiar to the season. Thus, in the first instance, the donor will say, when handing the money, "This is a small amount with which to buy some three-cornered dumplings" (粽子). These are made of glutinous rice, with small beans or dates inserted, and are eaten in memory of Ch'ü-Yüan (屈原), a loyal minister of the Kingdom of Ts'u (314 B.C.), who drowned himself in the Mihlo river when his advice was rejected by his royal master. The dumplings were originally intended as offerings to his manes, and were rolled up in bamboo sheaths to prevent the "water-dragon" eating them, and also decorated with five-coloured threads to frighten the monster. They are still rolled up in the natural sheath of the bamboo, but are not thrown into the canal as heretofore, being eaten instead with sugar—an instance of the modern spirit of utilitarianism which insists upon deriving some practical advantage from pious disbursements. These same dumplings, prepared with dates instead of beans, are eaten by undergraduates and children beginning school, in the hope of soon attaining to high degree; the name for dumplings of this kind, "tsao-tsung" (棗粽) being similar in sound to the words "early pass" (早中), which express the hope that the candidate may soon become a "promoted man" or high graduate.

In the second case, the date of the Mid-Autumn Festival, the beadle is invited to treat himself to

some "moon cakes" (月 餅) to celebrate the harvest moon. These cakes vary in size, and contain sweets, candied-peel, melon-seeds, etc., and were eaten in early times at the harvest festival with wine, accompanied by music and song.

At the end of the year the gift is nominally intended to provide "year dumplings" (年 糕), composed of white non-glutinous rice, which are eaten with sugar or salt. There is also a punning reference in this name, as it rhymes with the words "annually elevated" (年 高), and enshrines the pious wish that each succeeding year may witness a steady progress and advancement.

When it is remembered that every separate household is expected to provide itself with at least a catty (1⅓ lb.) weight of one or other of these three varieties on the several occasions, it will be seen how enormous must be the total sum expended, and at such times it is a small burden to impose upon the foreigner when asking him to make a small contribution.

It will be altogether to the foreigner's interest to stand well with these minor officials, as they can protect him from a great deal of annoyance, or put him to much inconvenience if so minded; and further, they may create a very unfavourable impression, with regard to Westerners generally in the minds of the superior officials, if the "Tipaos" and others have cause to think they have been treated shabbily by the foreigner in question. The presentation of the small gift will also afford an opportunity of a quiet reminder to the person

to look well after the donor's interests, and carefully protect him from theft, insult, etc. It is usual for the beadle to present his patrons with a New Year's calendar at the end of the year; a quantity of medicinal roots (蒼 朮) which, when burned, emit a powerful odour, and are calculated to expel all noxious insects before they have time to multiply and become active; a small packet of flowers of sulphur (雄 黃) is also comprised in the offering. This is supposed to be an effective protection against poisonous reptiles and insects, when mixed with native spirits and blown by the mouth, in tailor's fashion, into the four corners of the several apartments of the house. It is also powdered on the faces and bodies of children, with the same object. The discovery of this property was said to be made when, according to the story of the White Snake, the woman who proved to be the embodiment of the snake was transformed into her original shape, and exposed to the horrified beholders, after partaking of the usual cup of wine, mixed with sulphur, at the Mid-Autumn Festival.

In some cities the guardians of the gate or gates, through which foreigners are accustomed to pass after sundown, also expect a small gratuity on these three festivals. Natives generally pay on the spot when they require the city gates to be opened at night; but in some cases—as, for instance, where there is a foreign settlement outside the city walls—it is necessary to apply for admission or exit very frequently, and foreigners are glad to pay a triannual sum to compound for these

driblets. To refuse to do so might lead to very great inconvenience, as the gatemen might easily decline to admit people without authority; whereas if their good will is secured, they will be able to give notice of any special arrangement about the shutting or opening of the gates, and enable the foreigner to provide against emergencies. The city gates are nominally closed about 9 p.m., sometimes, as in the case of metropolitan cities, earlier than this; but in times of unrest special precautions may be taken, and the gates closed at an early hour, orders being given to permit no one to pass in or out without special authority. In such cases the good will of the gate-keeper may be very useful, either in giving due warning as above or by making an exception in the case of the foreigner who, for sufficient reasons, is desirous of getting in or out. Even in cases where the gate cannot on any account be opened, the gate-keeper may assist a foreigner to enter or depart by means of a rope and basket slung over the city wall. This method is contrary to law, but is occasionally resorted to in great emergencies.

Another class of persons who may ask for a small dole are the night watchmen who parade the district in which the foreigner resides. They go in pairs, one carrying a large tube of bamboo, which he strikes with a piece of wood, the other bearing a large gong. The one strikes continuously on the bamboo, whilst the second chimes in occasionally with as many blows on the gong as represent the number of the "watch." Having

done the round of their proper district, the watchmen retire until the next watch, two hours later, and so on until the early morning. The first watch, beginning about 8 p.m., is not kept, the watchmen beginning their rounds at the second watch, or about 10 p.m., and continuing until the fifth watch, or about 4 a.m.

These are the most miserable creatures one could well imagine, being generally poor, weak opium-smokers, who cannot sleep at night, and thus are willing and available for this purpose. In China, where most things are "topsy-turvy," it is not surprising that, in this instance, it is not the thief who fears the watchman, but the watchman who is in mortal terror of the thief. Some house-breakers are so daring as to collar the watchman and demand information as to the prospects of loot in a certain family which is marked for plunder; but, on the other hand, some watchmen are so bold as to warn a suspicious-looking character against attempting an entrance to a certain house, saying, "Old Uncle, the proprietor of this place, is a 'regular caution,' and is well provided with servants and 'anti-burglar' contrivances. I would venture to suggest that you try some more accessible place." Sometimes the watchman will go down on his knees to the burglar, and implore him to "make his fortune" (發 財) in some other quarter, reminding him of all the trouble which came to the watchman, constables, and others as a result of former "operations" on these premises. Such examples of "honest" watchmen are unfortunately rare;

in the majority of cases the watchman acts as the "eyes of the thief," and advises him as to the best places to attack, the means of ingress, etc., taking charge of the articles "lifted," and giving the burglar due warning, by a preconcerted system of signalling, in case of surprise, using his watchman's paraphernalia to give the alarm.

In some cases the watchman will thus revenge himself on householders who have mulcted him of what he considers his rightful dues, and it is therefore advisable to treat him generously for this reason, if for no worthier motive.

There being no "Board of Works" or "Charity Commissioners" in China, the Chinese people are constantly approached by collectors of funds for making new roads or repairing old ones; making or repairing bridges; dredging canals which have filled up; contributions to fire brigades, free ferries, old men's homes, widows' and orphans' refuges, foundling homes, refuges for the distressed, the deformed, mendicants, etc.; free gruel, free ginger soup, and warm-clothing societies; benevolent societies giving grants of rice and money during the winter, free tea and cholera mixture for the summer, collecting and burying scattered bones from dismantled graves, and supplying winter coverings for exposed coffins, free coffins, and tombs; lifeboats at dangerous points on rivers; free schools, dispensaries, etc., as well as subscription lists for processions, theatrical performances, masses and feasts for orphan spirits, new buildings, monasteries, temples, pagodas, etc.; repairs of temples, making

and gilding idols, casting bells, etc.; rest sheds on high-roads at various stages for the accommodation of travellers, etc.; hiring Buddhist and Taoist priests, and other expenses involved in connection with the invoking of rain or fair weather, the biannual sacrifices, etc., bespeaking immunity from fire; and sundry other institutions. Fortunately but few of these lists are presented to the foreign resident, and some of them, perhaps, might not appeal to his generous instincts; but it is not impossible he may be approached in some cases, and there are instances in which he might gladly bear a hand. In the former case, though the foreigner might be altogether disinclined to assist, as in the matter of idolatrous celebrations, he should at the same time studiously avoid giving offence by a curt refusal, or by an ill-judged condemnation of the whole thing as absurd and wicked. It will be quite sufficient for him to point out that there are certain things which he is quite ready to further, and some things which it would be inconsistent on his part to support, and he will beg to be excused. This will prevent the suspicion of meanness on the one hand and of arrogance on the other. There will be other opportunities offered when the folly of such observances may be pointed out—at this stage such admonition would be as much out of place as it would be to exhort a drunken man to keep sober.

Many of the objects above suggested will commend themselves to the benevolent mind, and the foreigner will be able to judge for himself

which of them seem to be most worthy of assistance. He may not believe that these institutions are administered to the best advantage of the most interested persons, and he may have a shrewd suspicion that they are sometimes undertaken from motives of personal benefit; but he will be able to judge, to some extent, by the character of those who are conducting the enterprise, and the methods adopted by them, whether it is deserving of support or not; and he may comfort himself with the reflection that, out of his contribution of $1, some ten cents may, perhaps, be devoted to the advancement of the cause which is desiderated, even if ninety cents do find their way, by some curious coincidence, into the waistband (which does duty for the pocket) of the promoters and agents of the scheme.

Some of these items, such as road-making, bridge-building, etc., are matters in which the foreigner may have a direct interest, in which case a refusal to contribute would be sharply criticised, and might very justly excite popular resentment.

XX

IN CASE OF THEFT

If articles have been removed from the house it is advisable to call in the beadle (or 地保) of the district, and also the "thief-catcher," or constable (捕役), sometimes called "horse-fast" (馬快), who knows all the thieves individually, and who is himself an ex-thief who has, perhaps, grown tired of the profession and joined the ranks of the thief-catchers; or who, for private reasons, has "turned coat" in order to wreak vengeance on his former associates. This man is able to tell, from the character of the traces left by the thieves, which of the various classes has been at work—for each class has its own method of obtaining access to a building, whether by prising open a door or window; by throwing a rope with grapplers attached, and by climbing up hand over hand; by drilling holes in doors with the ordinary instruments, or burning out a piece of the woodwork by means of the blow-pipe and some lighted charcoal, so as to insert the hand and withdraw bolts and fastenings; by jumping, vaulting, or swarming up a bamboo pole; by

using anæsthetics and rendering the occupants of a house unconscious; by boring holes through walls; by subterranean tunnelling, etc. The constable will be able to tell in a moment what band of thieves has been at work, and he has only to ask which member of the band has been engaged to find out all the circumstances—if he does not know them already. All thieves are the agents of the constable, who is popularly known as the "Thieves' Papa"—they must report to him all their takings, and give him a large percentage. He is specially careful to get hold of new hands or roving thieves from other places, and, after reducing them to subjection by torture, continues to use them in the future, not permitting them to leave the district without giving him due notice. The torture consists in hanging up the victim by the thumbs or great toes, round which fine hemp thread is tightly bound; sometimes the right thumb and the right great toe are bound in this way by a cord, and the victim is hung up, a millstone being placed in the middle of his back to increase the pain. This ordeal soon induces confession, and the thief gives all particulars asked of him, and becomes bound for the future to his new master.

It is reasonable to ask. If this be the case, why are things ever stolen or ever fail of being recovered? The answer is very simple: those who have influence with the magistrate may put the engines of the law into operation and soon recover their lost property; but the poorer classes have no such influence, and must take the

"spoiling of their goods," if not "cheerfully," at least with as good a grace as possible.

They may state their case to the official, but they will gain nothing, in the majority of cases. The mandarin may promise to do all that can be done, but will probably do nothing, except where he is required by some person of influence, some superior official, to repair the loss, when it will become necessary, for the sake of his reputation, to make the plunderers disgorge. For this reason poor people seldom refer to the officials in such cases, knowing that such application would be all in vain ; and even the rich are not encouraged to apply for redress, for the mandarin would very likely do nothing, but rather take offence, arguing thus, "These people are rich, and now that they have missed a few trifles they are in a great state of excitement, though the loss sustained is no more than 'a hair from a sheep's back,' and they think I've nothing to do but act as their runner to catch the thief for them." Or in cases where he is appealed to by a mutual friend he will compound for his failure by saying that he has already had the thief beaten, and has solemnly warned him against stealing from the same house in the future!

Should, however, the official be forced to take steps towards the recovery of the articles, by being required to make compensation, the constable is ordered to produce the plunder under pain of castigation, and he will sometimes either surrender the stolen property or offer to make compensation himself. If, however, he should

fail to do either, he is handed over to the lictors for punishment: this, however, is not necessarily a very severe ordeal, for the lictors are so expert that they can administer 1,000 sounding blows on the bare flesh without raising a blister, or draw blood if required with three strokes, and actually make the flesh "fly" if they set themselves seriously to work (this is done by the "dragging" stroke, as compared to the usual up-and-down method; the cane when it reaches the flesh is drawn back along the surface, and in a short time the flesh seems to be literally torn off in strips). The training to which these men are subjected is a very thorough one, and they can earn a good deal of money by bribes from their victims, whose pains may be considerably mitigated as the result of a "consideration."

This skill in applying the bamboo is said to be attained by long practice on a block of bean curd, a substance resembling a stiff custard; the beaters kneeling face to face and striking alternately on the bean curd, which is placed on the ground between them. When they have learned to strike the substance a great many times, producing an appreciable "note" each time, without breaking the delicate surface of the "custard," then they are supposed to be proficient, and are able to "make play" with their bamboo on whatever unfortunate specimens of humanity may be surrendered to their tender meries. Another power which they must cultivate is that of counting alternate numbers at a great rate whilst administering the blows. The man kneeling on one knee at one

side of his victim calls out the odd numbers, whilst the other records the even numbers, and this requires long practice; and here again there is an opening for "sharp practice," for the number called does not necessarily synchronise with the blow, and it is very easy for skilful performers to run up a very large total of figures without applying an equal number of blows. Thus a man condemned to 1,000 strokes need not receive more than 700 or so if he has a proper understanding with the lictors, though the full number is duly reported by them *viva voce* at the time of imposition. The constable does not always submit to castigation even if condemned, as he can always procure the services of a substitute who will, for a consideration, a few hundred cash perhaps, consent to undergo the scourging, and "eat the small bamboo," as it is called. The "cane," it may be interesting to note, is a section of the large bamboo about 3 feet long, about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide, and, for half its length, planed away until it is reduced to about $\frac{1}{16}$ inch thick. This is the "business end" of the instrument, the outer surface, from which the thin bark is removed, being applied to the flesh of the victim. The rod is steeped for a month or months in a saline bath before it is considered fit for use, as this is said to ensure that mortification will not set in when the flesh is lacerated.

Another and heavier cane is used in official punishments, as prescribed by the Criminal Code, in cases of highway robbery, homicide, etc. It is

about 6 inches longer than the other cane, and about 1½ inch broad by ¼ inch thick.

The Chinese advise that no effort be made to catch a thief who is interrupted in his "felonious little plans"; the best thing to do is to get him out of the house with as little delay and as little booty as possible. There are two reasons given for this: first, it is unsafe to lay hands on him, for he may be armed with a "life-preserver," which, when wielded in the dark, may do more damage than is intended; or his "back hair" may be furnished with a comb of sharp spikes, which will be found an unpleasant thing to grasp when his would-be captor makes a grab at his "pig-tail"; and secondly, because, when you have caught your thief, you will be at a loss to know what to do with him. If you hand him over to the constable, this will be equivalent to letting him off scot-free; and if you escort him to the magistrate's office, he will again be handed over to the constable, or shut up for a time, and eventually released with renewed desires for the acquisition of your property, and a thirst for revenge, which he will endeavour to satisfy at the earliest opportunity. The best thing to do with a thief is not to have one (to put it in an "Irish" form); to so safeguard your property as to preclude the possibility of any great loss. A good watch-dog will be found most valuable, though thieves will sometimes manage to remove this obstacle by means of poison.

The "next best thing" to do is to get rid of your thief as quickly and cheaply as possible. It

is allowable to frighten the thief off the premises by every available means, but firearms or other deadly weapons should not be directed against him, for theft is not a capital offence, and there is little likelihood of a common thief making an attack on your own life, so that there will be little justification for the plea of self-defence.

The last thing, in case of actual loss, is to request the official to arrange for the restitution of the lost property—the offer of monetary compensation should not be entertained—and to ask him to ensure you in future in accordance with the terms of your passport, which promises the protection of the officials, a very comprehensive term which may be supposed to include even such affairs as these. The mandarin should be informed of the steps which have already been taken, and the failure of the local constables and others to restore the stolen goods.

XXI

IN CASE OF FIRE

THERE are certain principles which the Chinese observe when fires break out in the houses or other buildings of their relatives or friends; the first of which is, that when a fire is observed in the vicinity, or which appears to be not far removed from the spot where one's friends live, it is a first duty to hasten to the spot to render help, taking at the same time some assistants who may be useful. If, on arrival, it is discovered that a friend's house is already on fire, and that the family is busily engaged in removing whatever can be saved from destruction, it is the duty of the new arrival to bear a hand at once, without waiting for invitation from, or even consultation with, the parties interested, rendering whatever assistance he may be able to offer, whether in saving the lives or property of the person involved, or else, if no better service can be rendered, keeping guard over the articles already salved and piled up in the street.

Even if it be discovered that the friend's house is not involved, though near to the scene of conflagration, it is the correct thing to make one's

way thither to congratulate him on his lucky escape, and to abate his very natural alarm and excitement.

Should the friend or relative be burnt out and rendered homeless, it is the duty of his visitor to advise him as to the best means of finding a lodging, whether in an empty house, or temple, or rest-house; but he must on no account invite the evicted person to his own home, for the victim is considered to be a person against whom the wrath of the Fire God has been aroused, and is likely to bring calamity in his path wherever he goes. The Fire God, it may be mentioned in passing, is said to be a female, named Chu-jung (祝融), who is generally represented as possessing three eyes.

There is a story told in connection with a celebrated Buddhist monk, named Chi-tien (濟顛), who lived in Hangchow. On one occasion he noticed a woman, bearing a baby on each arm, attempting to enter the temple at which he resided. He at once concluded that this could be no other than the God of Fire, as the figure of the woman with an extra head on each side—*i.e.* the heads of the babies she was carrying—seemed to his fertile imagination to exactly represent the idiograph for "fire," which is composed of the character for a human being, with a dot on each side, thus 火, and so he strenuously refused her admittance. His superior, noticing his struggle with the woman, wanted to know what he meant by it, and he replied, "Which is better, to have a monastery or to have no monastery?" The

superior, imagining that the question asked was, "Which is better, to have engagements or to have no engagements?" (the Chinese word for monastery, and that for business engagements implying worldly cares, being similar in sound, 事 and 寺), replied, "What engagements should we recluses be occupied with? It is much better to be without them." The bonze accordingly permitted the woman to enter, saying, "Oh, if you think it better to have no monastery, I have nothing more to say!" Flames broke out almost immediately, and the place was burnt to ashes. The bonze could not be found for a long time, and when asked why he did not come forward to render assistance, replied, "I did what I could to prevent a catastrophe, but you insisted that it would be better to have no monastery, and so I let things take their course."

It is the duty of close friends or near relations to supply the sufferers, from a catastrophe of this kind, with articles of domestic utility the morning after the fire, and sets of cups, bowls, tureens, chopsticks, ladles, etc., are usually sent; the act is known as "Presenting Fire Rice" (送火飯), and there are peculiar features connected with it which are worthy of note—*e.g.* these articles must not be returned in whole or in part, all must be accepted; to return any part thereof would bring bad luck upon the donor, for the articles thus presented to an unfortunate person would bring misfortune back with them if returned. For a similar reason no present is given to the servant who delivers the articles,

for such money would also be regarded as infelicitous. Again, no words of thanks may be returned, for that would imply an obligation which would require to be fulfilled in due course; in other words, the returning of thanks would imply that a similar opportunity would be sought, by the obliged person, to return the compliment, and this would involve that the donor should pass through a similar experience—*i.e.* have his house burnt down—in order that his kindness might be requited, and such an event would be, of course, the last that he would desire; and hence the gift of these things is regarded as an act of grace which requires no return: on the contrary, it is fervently hoped by the giver that the receiver will have no opportunity of paying him back.

The "Book of Rites" ordains that "Presents should come and go; those which go only, and do not come [*i.e.* are not returned], are not 'in order,' and those which come only and do not go are not 'in order'"—*i.e.* contravene the rules of polite usage; in other words, all presents must be acknowledged by a *quid pro quo.* The only exception to this is the system which is observed with regard to gifts to the sufferers from a fire.

When a new and permanent dwelling has been obtained in place of the premises burnt down, it is also necessary that friends and relations should send presents; but in this instance the gifts consist of the more usual offerings of candles, scrolls, bread, money, etc., rather than articles such as

are mentioned above. In this latter case the gifts are acknowledged by a feast, to which all who rendered assistance at the fire are invited, and the bearers of the gifts are also given a "cumshaw," as in ordinary cases. The ceremonies which are observed at ordinary feasts are somewhat relaxed on this occasion, and invitations are either written informally or delivered orally.

No gratuities are given to the firemen who take part in the affair, unless the services of the brigade have been specially requisitioned, as the sufferer has, perhaps, already contributed towards the support of this institution, and the firemen, or "save fire soldiers," are paid out of a fund which he may have assisted in raising. Only very poor people are exempted from this "voluntary" tax, which is known as "Water-dragon Subscription" (水龍捐).

XXII

CASES OF RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION

THERE are few more difficult problems which confront the missionary in China than the cases of religious persecution, real or fictitious, which are brought to his notice from time to time; and few which cause consular and other officials to question the propriety of missionary effort more than these same cases. The difficulty of the missionary's position lies in this, that as pastor of the flock which he has been, in some sense, instrumental in bringing together, he must above all things sympathise in the disabilities and distresses which result, or are represented as resulting, from the profession of Christianity. Any show of hardness or lack of sympathy would be regarded by the flock as little less than positive injustice, and as being incompatible with that Christian tenderness which should characterise the shepherd of the flock; and native converts are quick to perceive the dilemma in which their pastor is placed, and to take advantage of it, with the result that instances of persecution are constantly adduced, and the pastor's interference is

requisitioned, yea, demanded; and, indeed, in some quarters, cases of so-called "persecution" are the normal condition from one year's end to another, involving not only the missionary in difficulties with the local authorities and the people at large, but also engaging the attention of consuls, who have extreme difficulty in adjudging the merits of such cases, being separated, in the majority of instances, by long distances, and having no disinterested agent on the spot upon whose judgment they can rely, and being confronted at the same time by a mass of conflicting evidence, with the inevitable inertia of the Chinese magistrates on the one hand, and the very natural predilection of the missionary on the other.

That real cases of "persecution" have occurred, and do occur, cannot be doubted, and many instances could be cited where Chinese converts have nobly sustained the loss of all that pertained to them, and even of life itself, without flinching or complaint; but it is of the utmost importance to bear in mind that cases of religious persecution —the only form of persecution with which the missionary can pretend to be actively interested— are comparatively rare, for the reason that the Chinese are not an anti-religious people, and are prepared to tolerate a wide margin of nonconformity to the recognised systems; and it will be found that in a great majority of cases an antecedent cause may be discovered, some ancient family feud, some agrarian dispute, or that fruitful source of trouble in circles where religious

prejudices hardly obtain—*i.e.* the distribution of ancestral property and the appropriation of its usufruct. It is unsafe to take for granted the representations of the most unequivocal native Christian in such matters, as the temptation to exaggerate the religious bearing of the question and to suppress the real issue is oftentimes too great for the best-intentioned among them. Without attributing to the Chinese any inherent inability or natural deficiency, it is impossible to overlook the fact that the influence of hereditary disposition, and the low moral standard of the Confucian teaching with regard to truthfulness, have resulted in a great laxity in this respect, and the most honest among the Chinese are quite ready to confess the difficulty they experience in maintaining a perfectly straightforward position. It may be difficult and even painful to the missionary to adopt a judicial rather than a sympathetic attitude towards his converts, but experience has shown that such is the only safe course. He should take nothing upon trust, but should carefully investigate the other side of the story before allowing himself to take active measures on behalf of the "persecuted." Incalculable harm has been done to the cause of Christianity by well-meant but injudicious action in such cases. Consuls are irritated by frequent appeals on behalf of designing Church members who wish to involve the foreign missionary in disputes only remotely connected with religion. (It is not necessary that the missionary should "see the thing through"; the very fact that he is

interesting himself in the case may serve as a sufficient menace to the other side.) Chinese officials are incensed at the reference to the higher courts of matters which they themselves would be quite competent to settle, and more especially when compensation and satisfaction are demanded. The local gentry and people are offended by the interference of the foreigner in agrarian and family matters, and give him credit for being not only a busy-body and impertinent meddler, but also a weak or evil-disposed person, who is either hoodwinked by his Christian clients, or is influenced by personal or political motives. And thus Christianity comes to be regarded as a dangerous element in local affairs, which is calculated to divide the people against themselves, and which aims at usurping the powers of the properly constituted authorities. The latter, it may be said, is the almost universal opinion of the governing classes, who make little or no distinction between the various nationalities and the different sects represented.

The young and ardent missionary may consider this a "hard saying," and cases are not unknown where even old residents in China have grievously erred in such matters; but the best experience goes to show that such careful scrutiny and impartiality are essential to the establishment of harmonious relations with the officials and people.

With regard to "missionary rights" in such matters, it should be remembered that although the foreign resident in the interior, according to

the terms of the treaty between Great Britain and China, is at perfect liberty to apply to the local (Chinese) authorities for redress in case of personal loss, damage, or ill-treatment, he can exercise no such privilege in the interests of Chinese subjects, Christian or non-Christian. The profession of the Christian religion is permitted to Chinese subjects under the terms of the treaty, and an infringement of such liberty may be properly made a subject for reference by the aggrieved party to the magistrate of his own district. Where justice is denied, and the case appears to be a real instance of injustice, the missionary may not venture to remonstrate with the officials implicated, but should send a careful statement of the case, after due inquiry, to his consul, asking for his interference in the matter. This is the orthodox method of procedure; but a very much better one is that suggested in another chapter with reference to the purchase of land, etc.—*i.e.* if the missionary is enjoying friendly relations with the officials or gentry (and such relations are happily not difficult of establishment in these days), he should seek their advice in the matter, as they will have opportunities of learning the real facts of the case, and will be able to suggest a satisfactory solution of the difficulty.

"Prevention," however, "is better than cure," and the missionary will find it advisable to impress upon his converts the fact that he is in no sense their political leader or advocate, and he will save himself a very great deal of unnecessary

difficulty if he gives notice beforehand, to Christians and non-Christians alike, that he will decline to be involved in any case which properly belongs to the province of the local magistracy. He should also refuse to allow his Chinese assistants, catechists, and others to take any part in such matters, or to arrogate to themselves the position of arbitrator or assessor in lawsuits or other contentions. It is well to keep in mind the fact that these agents, however admirable, are recruited, for the most part, from the lower orders of the people; are taken from their homes in early life, and given an education different altogether from that of their compeers. They are thus largely ignorant of social usages, and, as the Chinese sometimes say, are neither one thing nor the other—"half foreign devils," as they have been called. Their "foreign" education (which does not necessarily or usually include the knowledge of any foreign language) sometimes induces the American complaint known as "swelled head," and the fledgeling fresh from the missionary college falls an easy prey to the "Adullamite" who has a grievance, and who implores his intervention. It is easy to imagine the temptation to "magnify his office" on the part of the young catechist or other agent in such circumstances, and zeal is generally apt to "outrun discretion"; and the temptation is not one which is easily outgrown—the "man of the people" rather relishes acting the part of mandarin, unless by painful experience and "burning of fingers" he early learns the thanklessness of the task,

not to mention the danger he runs in such usurpation.

There are persons in every Chinese community who are generally recognised as the proper "court of appeal," such as the village elders, or some "stickit" scholar who makes a sordid livelihood by acting as intermediary in such cases, and it is easy to see that such persons will resent the invasion of their prerogative by the callow youth who attempts to usurp their functions, and whose chief qualification, in the eyes of his employers, is his ignorance of the circumstances and his indiscriminating zeal. Given such a factor in social politics, and it is easy to anticipate how great a fire may be kindled by however small a spark, and the resultant conflagration which may involve not only the village immediately concerned, but even the province, and eventually become an element of international dimensions, such as that which threatened to overwhelm the Empire during the outbreak known as the "Boxer" movement.

Apropos of this subject, it may be remarked that the machinations of native Christian agents, of whatever denomination, are frequently denounced by the better class of Chinese as being the *fons et origo mali*, and it is of the utmost importance that the imputation against Christian professors, whether Chinese or European, should be negatived by the exercise of the strictest self-restraint in all matters where "foreign" influence is requisitioned, on whatever pretext. It will take a long time to counteract the evil effects of

past transgressions, and it will be extremely difficult to persuade the governing classes that Christianity is not a purely political engine; but it can only be accomplished by the means suggested, and every representative of the Christian religion should do his utmost to bring about this happy consummation.

XXIII

ON WEARING "NATIVE DRESS"

When contemplating the change from his own "native" costume to that of the Chinese native, the foreigner would do well to bear in mind Mr. Punch's advice to the candidate for matrimony. There are some considerations which weigh with those who thus disguise, but do not efface, themselves, and these considerations are, in some cases, not only advocated, but enforced by authority. One of these is no doubt the question of expense, and another the "convenience" of the costume; but perhaps the strongest plea is based on the supposed fact that the wearing of the native dress is indicative of a sympathetic attitude towards the Chinese, and as affording a means of getting into closer "touch" with them. Perhaps the Chinaman's own view of the matter should first be taken into consideration, but the experience of some of the earliest wearers of the native dress, among Protestant missionaries, may count for something, and cases could be cited where the Chinese dress was discarded, and the foreign costume reverted to, by veteran

missionaries whilst still living in the interior. The Chinese opinion of the matter may be regarded from two points of view—*i.e.* that of the upper classes, and that of the "man in the street."

The latter at once concludes that the foreigner who assumes the native costume must be influenced by motives of economy, and that he cannot afford to wear his own proper dress, which, as every Chinese knows, is a very extravagant one, being composed almost entirely of woollen materials, which are very expensive. Another opinion, very popular among the lower classes, is that those who wear native dress are not true "foreigners" at all, but "hybrids," the offspring of Cantonese mothers and "white" fathers, as their appearance is supposed to be similar to that of the large class of Cantonese "Eurasians" to be found at the principal ports—a classification which is not, and is not intended to be, of a complimentary nature.

The better-class Chinese regard the adoption of their dress by foreigners with very grave suspicion. They cannot understand how any respectable person should thus attempt to disguise himself; and they conclude that foreigners thus metamorphosed must be either fugitives from justice, who have "left their country for their country's good," or else that they are influenced by unworthy motives in thus seeking to insinuate themselves into Chinese society. Chinese etiquette with regard to dress is very stringent; in ancient times the costume of the various

classes, literary, agricultural, industrial, and commercial, was strictly delimited, and even now, though enforced by no legal statute, these distinctions are generally maintained, and the man who ventures to change into "foreign" clothes is not regarded with favour, is not, in fact, considered quite "respectable," and is likely to be practically ostracised by polite society; it being supposed that his object, in thus arraying himself in borrowed plumes, is in order to exercise some unwonted influence over his own people and frighten them into subjection, as is the manner of some foreigners regarded from the popular standpoint.

Some Chinese, and those not a few, take for granted that the foreigner who adopts their costume does so from a conviction of the superiority, not only of Chinese habiliments, but also of Chinese civilisation, and that he is thus "going up a peg" in his own estimation when he disports himself in the costume of the "accomplished land"; whilst the Chinese opinion of him is that "he is no better than a washed monkey with a cap on"—*i.e.* he may disguise himself and remove some of his "bristles" by shaving, but he is a monkey none the less.

It should be remembered, too, that the Chinese are not altogether enamoured of their present costume, which is by them regarded as "foreign," and which they are condemned to wear by the decree of Fate. The costume of the present dynasty is, of course, in the Manchu style, and

is very different from the dress of the last Chinese dynasty, and for a long time the Chinese protested strongly against the innovation, insomuch that in the early days barbers were employed to shave the people for nothing, and to operate by force upon those who refused to submit. An interesting vestige of this authority may still be observed in the miniature scholars' pole which barbers often attach to their portable shaving-stand, similar in appearance to the two upright poles with wooden "brackets" attached about half-way up, which are to be seen outside official residences or the houses of Chinese high graduates. In fact, the barbers may be said to possess official rank, as they are allowed the title of Tai-chao (待詔), or "Probationers of the Imperial Academy." Not only so, but the local officials were, at one time, authorised to behead any person who still continued recalcitrant, and those who insisted upon conserving their hair sometimes did so at the expense of their head. The people of Fukien were so determined to hide their badge of conquest that they rolled up their queues and covered them with a turban, which also covered the shaven part of the forehead, a practice which continues to the present day. The Chinese have a proverb that "the living submit (to the Manchus), but the dead do not," and hence, when a man dies, his hair is combed and done up in the old Chinese fashion, and he is dressed in the garments of the last (Chinese) dynasty. For this reason it is not surprising that the foreigner, who fondly

imagines he is "getting closer" to the Chinese by adopting the fashion of their Conquerors, should be disappointed of his hopes. Some foreigners attempt to effect a compromise. Recognising that the "pig-tail" is a Manchu innovation and a badge of servitude, they wear the dress but do not adopt the queue—a divorce which accomplishes no good purpose, and only renders the wearer ridiculous, for if the queue is Manchu, the dress is equally so, and the former is so necessary an adjunct of the latter that even the Chinese are moved to laughter at the spectacle of a man who, for whatever reason, has lost his "cue," to say nothing of the fact that the punishment of a person charged with a disgraceful crime (adultery) is to have his queue cut off to within an inch or so of the head. This is not a very happy character for the foreigner in China to assume.

From the above it will be seen that the adoption of Chinese dress by Europeans is not without drawbacks. Some excuse their action by asserting that the costume is so much warmer in winter and cooler in summer than European dress, although, on the other hand, Chinese have been known to adopt foreign dress for a precisely similar reason. Some enthusiasts even go so far as to recommend the wearing of Chinese "rain-boots," although it would be hard to find a Chinese who did not condemn them as heavy, slippery, uncomfortable, and even painful.

There are many foreigners in China at present who have adopted what they imagine to be

"Chinese" dress, but which is really a "fancy" costume, such as one might expect to see at amateur theatricals in England, where the details of Chinese attire are not fully understood.

It would be impossible to exhaust the list of incongruities which are sometimes witnessed, even in Shanghai. The garments worn do not seem to represent those of any historic dynasty, much less the present one; they do not belong to any season of the year, but appear to be snatched at random out of a wardrobe containing the wearing apparel for a whole year. The colours do not harmonise; and married women, or, at all events, those quite old enough to be married, sometimes appear in the green coat of a girl of thirteen or fourteen, or the red skirt of a maiden of twenty. When the two are combined in the person of an old lady with white hair, as has been the case, the *tout ensemble* is so extraordinary that the Chinaman rubs his eyes and wonders whether he has not turned colour-blind.

The hair of "foreign" lady wearers of "Chinese" dress is seldom or never dressed in Chinese fashion, and nothing except a hairpin or two is worn on it, unless in summer, when an unsightly "topee" of enormous proportions is worn, even in the moonlight. There are several kinds of headgear for women in China, but the foreign lady in fancy dress generally scorns them all, and appears bareheaded in winter, with nothing better than an umbrella to protect her; or, if she does affect a "tiara," it is generally one such as is worn by young girls, and is popularly supposed to have

been obtained from the ragman, who exchanges a tenacious sweetmeat, vulgarly known as "stick-jaw," for bits of cast-off embroidery. Not only is the head a distinctly "foreign" head, as regards its features and complexion, and also as regards its decoration and headgear, but the other extremity is equally "alien" in appearance and treatment. In China, as every one knows, the better-class women make their feet small by continuous binding, and only peasants, boat-women, and slaves allow their feet to develop to the natural size. The Manchu ladies also have "natural" feet, but they wear a special shoe which raises them an inch or so from the ground, and which is supposed to represent a small foot Foreign ladies, however, do not attempt to emulate Chinese ladies in any way; they expose their feet, without the slightest apology, in slippers which correspond to nothing in heaven or earth—*i.e.* the Chinese cosmogony—except perhaps those worn by the "Kong-poh," or "North of the River" (江北) women, who go from house to house doing odd jobs of needlework, and are the butt of the local wits for their large and ungainly feet.

Foreign ladies appear to affect ordinary European stockings in the majority of cases, and very often leather shoes, and, as a matter of fact, they have not much in the way of alternative. Thus, both head and feet are anything but "Chinese," and the other parts are clothed in garments which are more remarkable for incongruity than anything else. Their general appearance is only

comparable with that of the female fortune-tellers and extractors of worms from the teeth, a class of women whose dress might be taken as the model from which the foreign ladies copied; but it is, perhaps, somewhat unjust to the above class of females thus to compare them with their "foreign" imitators, for they at least know how to comport themselves, though their conduct is anything but respectable, and they do not rush about with long, loose strides, as do their "foreign" counterparts. Another point of similarity is that these women are, perhaps, the only Chinese who do not wear bracelets.

The men have an advantage in this respect, as they have not the same difficulty with regard to the extremities, but even in their case many peculiarities are observable which render them ridiculous in the eyes of the Chinese. This, however, may not be considered of very great consequence; but there is a more important consideration which is worthy of careful notice, and it is this—the foreigner who adopts the native costume, in the majority of cases, wears the dress of the scholarly classes, or what he fondly imagines is the costume of the literati, although not necessarily in every case a scholar of any school, foreign or Chinese. As a matter of fact, such only succeed, for the most part, in simulating a *nouveau riche* from the country (土財主), or a "country cousin" putting on his best "Sunday-go-to-meetings," irrespective of season, etc., to pay a visit to his relations. This, however, is by the way; the point of importance is this, that,

though posing as "scholars," they are altogether unqualified, from the Chinese point of view, for assuming the character. They may be able to talk the local dialect with some amount of freedom, though really correct speakers are rare; they may recognise a certain number of the Chinese ideographs, chiefly those which are met with in the Chinese version of the Bible; but can they write an ordinary letter in Chinese, or read a newspaper article? Can they be compared for a moment, as regards attainments, with any ordinary Chinese youngster of fourteen at a charity school in the country? If they cannot—and the majority of them would probably be prepared to "admit the soft impeachment"—then, speaking from the Chinese point of view, they have no right to assume the costume of the Chinese scholar; and further, as they are largely ignorant of polite usages and ceremonial forms, which Chinese scholars regard as of first importance, they appear to the Chinese to be the veriest charlatans and imposters, whose pretensions to Western scholarship are probably no better than their ostentation of Chinese knowledge, implied in their assumption of the literate's garb—a most equivocal rôle for the professors of a religion which proposes to supersede all other systems of morality, and a very unfortunate misrepresentation of the attainments of European learning.

The above may be taken to represent fairly well the Chinese view with regard to the question of "native" dress, and should therefore be treated with some amount of deference. If it were merely

a "foreign" opinion, it might, of course, be taken simply for what it is worth.

The conclusion from it all is that only two alternatives exist in this connection: the foreigner, with leanings towards a change of costume, should either act upon Mr. Punch's advice, and take the consequences—which, by the way, need not be very serious consequences, for it has been shown that in many places foreigners in their own national dress are not nearly so conspicuous as those masquerading in borrowed and ill-adapted plumes; and, further, that the majority of those massacred during the late outbreak in China (1900) were missionaries in (so-called) "Chinese" dress, which evidently was not sufficient to protect them from the treatment meted out to other foreigners—or, to come to the second alternative, if he feels convinced that it is to his advantage to affect the costume of the Chinese gentleman, he should see to it that he is qualified to act the part he wishes to assume.

It may be suggested that some other native costume would be available, such as that of the shopkeeper or tradesman; but the reply to such a suggestion might very reasonably be made that such would be unbecoming the Evangelical calling and profession: it would be better to adopt the garments of the "teacher" and qualify for a worthy assumption of them, or, failing that, to appear in one's proper character without disguise or subterfuge.

XXIV

LUCKY AND UNLUCKY DAYS

In all countries and at all ages there are certain days which are regarded as unlucky, and on which it is considered inadvisable, and even dangerous, to engage in certain undertakings. In the West these ideas are now largely discredited, though a certain amount of superstition still clings to Friday; and even in England there are many people who would be very unwilling, for instance, to marry on that day. As late as the reign of Henry VI. a calendar was published in England giving a list of no less than thirty-two days in the year which were denominated "perilous days," on which falling sick, receiving hurt, getting married, starting on a journey, or beginning any work, were contra-indicated; and, no doubt, some of these days are still regarded as unpropitious by old-fashioned peasants and others, who are so far uninfluenced by the modern spirit of disbelief.

In the Far East, as one might expect, these *dies mali* still exert a powerful influence over susceptible minds, though not now so carefully observed and so religiously avoided as in the past. It will be interesting to notice some

Chinese conceptions with regard to these days, as recorded in the official calendar.

Three days in each month—viz. the 5th, 14th, and 23rd—are days to be avoided when engaging in any new enterprises, and more especially when starting on a journey, for, as the saying goes, "even the immortal will return with an empty basket who starts out on these days" (*i.e.* his venture will be profitless); but the embargo is somewhat relaxed with regard to the 5th day of the month, for, by invoking the "God of Wealth of the Five Roads" on this day, his special protection may be expected to overrule the malign influences which are supposed to be abroad. Over and above these days there are to be found, in almost every day of the year, some fortunate or untoward influence, indicated by the astral conjunctions and the permutations of the "Celestial Branches," "Earthly Stems," etc., which preside over each day and decide its good or ill.

A study of the Chinese calendar, and the system upon which it is constructed, will serve to show how intricate and involved is the philosophy upon which the Chinese depends for guidance as to his daily movements, and how enmeshed he is in the web of sophistry with which succeeding ages of astrological charlatans have surrounded him. A cursory study of the main points of the system may be interesting.

The Cycle of Cathay consists of sixty years, but there are other cycles of months and days and hours (the Chinese hour is equal to two hours English), so that every period of five years

completes a month cycle; every period of two months, roughly, contains a cycle of days, and every five days contain a cycle of sixty (Chinese) hours. The Chinese calendar, which is of immemorial antiquity, is based upon this system, and though it has been more than once revised by European astronomers, the underlying theory remains practically unchanged. To understand the working of the calendar one must have some acquaintance with the cardinal principles which form the basis of all its calculations.

I. The first of these is the theory of the five elements—viz. metal, wood, fluid, fire, and earth—each possessing its mutual affinities and antipathies. Thus:

Metal is inimical to Wood; the iron of the axe being employed to fell the tree.

Wood destroys Earth, drawing on its substance for nutriment and growth.

Earth absorbs Water, and is thus considered hurtful to its existence.

Water extinguishes Fire, and Fire melts Metal, and for these reasons are considered mutually antipathetic.

On the side of affinities it is held that Metal produces Fluid, the molten metal being regarded as increasing the volume of liquid.

Fluid produces Wood, trees and shrubs depending on it for subsistence.

Wood is the food of Fire.

Fire by producing ashes adds to Earth.

Earth is the parent of Metal.

The five elements again are sub-divided into

their several forms, masculine and feminine, the former corresponding to the Yang (陽), the latter to the Yin (陰).

Thus Metal is exhibited in its masculine form in weapons, and its feminine form in domestic utensils.

Wood is masculine in trees, and feminine in bamboos, grasses, etc.

Fluid is seen in its masculine form in waves of the sea, and in its feminine form in riplets of the brook.

Fire is masculine in the blaze of the sun, and feminine in the glimmer of the lamp.

Earth is masculine when piled up in the hills, and feminine when laid out in the plains.

II. Another important principle is that of the ten "Celestial Stems" and twelve "Earthly Branches."

The ten "Celestial Stems" are represented by separate characters, and these are again combined in pairs, 1 and 2 forming the first pair, and so on in regular sequence. The names of these characters are given in the accompanying table, together with their astrological names, dual combinations, their corresponding elements, their binary exhibition (as stated above), and the planets which correspond to them. The astrological names have been invented by ancient professors of the art, in order to confound the mere amateur who would venture to make exposition on his own account, and are employed by experts in much the same way as our medical prescriptions are written in Latin instead of good "King's English."

NAMES AND AFFINITIES OF

No.	The Ten Stems.		Astrological Names.			
1	甲	Chia	閼逢	O-feng	焉逢	Yen-feng
2	乙	Yi	旃蒙	Chan-meng	端蒙	Tuan-meng
3	丙	Ping	柔兆	Jou-chao	游兆	Yu-chao
4	丁	Ting	疆圉	Chiang-yu	疆梧	Chiang-wu
5	戊	Wu	著雍	Cho-yung	祝癰	Chu-yung
6	己	Chi	屠維	Tu-wei	祝犁	Chu-li
7	庚	Keng	上章	Shang-chang	商橫	Shang-heng
8	辛	Hsin	重光	Chung-kuang	昭陽	Chao-yang
9	壬	Jen	玄默	Hsuan-yi	橫艾	Heng-ai
10	癸	Kuei	昭陽	Chao-yang	尙章	Shang-chang

Some of these are mutually harmonious, as Nos. 1 and 8 and 5, 9 and 8, 10 and 7. This is owing to the related elements—*e.g.* 1 represents the male principle in conjunction is a fortunate one; or they may be mutually *e.g.* 2 represents the female principle in Wood, and is

THE TEN CELESTIAL STEMS.

		Dual Combination.	Corresponding Elements.	Binary Exhibition.		Planets.
				Yang.	Yin.	
		甲乙	Wood (Sour)	Trees	Bamboos	Jupiter
游桃	Yu-tao	丙丁	Fire (Bitter)	The Blaze of the Sun	The Flame of a Lamp	Mars
徒維	Tu-wei	戊己	Earth (Sweet)	Hill	Plain	Saturn
		庚辛	Metal (Pungent)	Weapons	Utensils	Venus
		壬癸	Fluid (Salt)	Waves	Brooks	Mercury

10, 2 and 9, 3 and 2, 4 and 1, 5 and 4, 6 and 3, 7 and 6, harmonising of the male and female principles in the Wood and 10 the female principle in Fluid, hence their opposed, as Nos. 1 and 6, 2 and 7, 3 and 8, 4 and 9, 5 and 10 naturally antipathetic to the male principles in Metal, No. 7.

III. The twelve "Earthly Branches" also possess distinctive names, and are represented by symbolical animals; besides which they have their zodiacal signs, poetical names, and their corresponding hours, and points of the compass (see opposite page).

The twelve "Branches" are appropriated amongst the various elements as follows:

2, 5, 8, and 11 are related to Earth,
3, 4 „ „ „ Wood,
6, 7 „ „ „ Fire,
9, 10 „ „ „ Metal,
12, 1 „ „ „ Fluid;

and they are divided into four classes, corresponding with the four Seasons, thus:

3, 4, and 5 are related to Spring,
6, 7, and 8 „ „ „ Summer,
9, 10, and 11 „ „ „ Autumn,
12, 1, and 2 „ „ „ Winter.

The symbolical animals which represent these branches are separated into the Yang and the Yin, representing the male and female principles as above stated; and this separation is denoted by the number of claws, or the division of the hoof, except in the case of the serpent, where, there being no foot by which to adjudge, the tongue is made the criterion—those possessing odd numbers being denominated male, and those with even numbers female. Thus:

1. The Rat, related to Fluid and possessing 5 claws, is male

The Twelve Branches, or Horary Characters.

No.	The Twelve Branches.		Symbolical Animals.	Zodiacal Signs.	Poetical Names.		Corresponding Hours.			Points of the Compass.
1	子	Tzu	Rat	Aries	困敦	Kun-tun	11-1 a.m.	三更	3rd watch	North
2	丑	Chou	Ox	Taurus	赤奮若	Chih-fen-jo	1-3 „	四更	4th „	N.N.E. ¾ E.
3	寅	Yin	Tiger	Gemini	攝提格	She-ti-ko	3-5 „	五更	5th „	E.N.E. ¾ N.
4	卯	Mao	Hare	Cancer	單閼	Shan-o	5-7 „			East
					壹安	Tan-an				
5	辰	Shen	Dragon	Leo	執徐	Chih-hsu	7-9 „			E.E.E. ¾ S.
6	巳	Ssu	Serpent	Virgo	大荒落	Ta-huang-lo	9-11 „	上午	Forenoon	S.S.E. ¾ E.
					大芒落	Ta-mang-lo				
7	午	Wu	Horse	Libra	敦牂	Tun-tsang	11-1 p.m.	正午	Noon	South
8	未	Wei	Sheep	Scorpio	協洽	Hsieh-hsia	1-3 „	下午	Afternoon	S.S.W. ¾ W.
					汁洽	Shih-hsia				
9	申	Shen	Monkey	Sagittarius	涒灘	Tun-tan	3-5 „			W.S.W. ¾ S.
					涒漢	Jui-han				
10	酉	Yu	Cock	Capricornus	作噩	Tso-o	5-7 „			West
					作鄂	Tso-o				
11	戌	Hsu	Dog	Aquarius	閹茂	Yen-mou	7-9 „	初更	1st watch	W.N.W. ¾ N.
					淹茂	Yen-mou				
12	亥	Hai	Boar	Pisces	大淵獻	Ta-yuan-hsien	9-11 „	二更	2nd „	N.N.W. ¾ W.

2. The Cow, related to Earth and possessing 2 divisions in the hoof, is female.
3. The Tiger, related to Wood and possessing 5 claws, is male.
4. The Hare, related to Wood and possessing 2 claws, is female.
5. The Dragon, related to Earth and possessing 5 claws, is male.
6. The Serpent, related to Fire and possessing a double tongue, is female.
7. The Horse, related to Fire and possessing an undivided hoof, is male.
8. The Sheep, related to Earth and possessing 2 divisions in hoof, is female.
9. The Monkey, related to Metal and possessing 5 claws, is male.
10. The Cock, related to Metal and possessing 4 claws, is female.
11. The Dog, related to Earth and possessing 5 claws, is male.
12. The Boar, related to Fluid and possessing 2 claws, is female.

These again possess their mutual affinities and antipathies. The following are harmonious :

1, 5, and 9, which, when combined, are classified under Fluid.
2, 6, and 10, which, when combined, are classified under Metal.
3, 7, and 11, which, when combined, are classified under Fire.
4, 8, and 12, which, when combined, are classified under Wood.

But one from each of these—viz. 2, 5, 8, and 11—when combined under Earth, are antipathetic. This combination represents the earth of which graves are composed, which is not disturbed by ploughshare or spade, and hence is inutile.

Those which are antagonistic are :

1 and 7 = Fluid and Fire.

2 and 8 = Earth and Earth (female), described as low and damp, as the soil of morasses, drains, etc.

3 and 9 = Wood and Metal.

4 and 10 = Wood and Metal.

5 and 11 = Earth and Earth (male), described as high and dry earth, the soil of cities and hills.

6 and 12 = Fluid and Fire.

IV. There are also the twenty-eight Zodiacal constellations with their respective signs, corresponding elements, and symbolic animals, as are stated on page 196.

These are combined in four groups, each group corresponding to one of the cardinal points, and bearing a distinctive title, thus :

1 corresponds to the East, and is called Green Dragon (青 龍).

2 corresponds to the South, and is called Scarlet Sparrow (朱 雀).

3 corresponds to the West, and is called White Tiger (白 虎).

4 corresponds to the North, and is called Black Warrior (亢 武).

Seven of the twenty-eight are considered to be very infelicitous, and nothing can be undertaken

No.	Sign.		Element.	Animal.	
1	角	Chio	Wood	蛟	Hornless Dragon
2	亢	Kang	Metal	龍	Dragon
3	氐	Ti	Earth	貉	Badger
4	房	Fang	Sun	兔	Hare
5	心	Hsin	Moon	狐	Fox
6	尾	Wei	Fire	虎	Tiger
7	箕	Chi	Fluid	豹	Leopard
8	斗	Tou	Wood	獬	Gryphon
9	牛	Niu	Metal	牛	Ox
10	女	Nu	Earth	蝠	Bat
11	虛	Hsu	Sun	鼠	Rat
12	危	Wei	Moon	燕	Swallow
13	室	Shih	Fire	豬	Boar
14	壁	Pi	Fluid	豲	Porcupine
15	奎	Kuei	Wood	狼	Wolf
16	婁	Lou	Metal	狗	Dog
17	胃	Wei	Earth	雉	Pheasant
18	昴	Mao	Sun	雞	Cock
19	畢	Pi	Moon	烏	Raven
20	觜	Tsui	Fire	猴	Monkey
21	参	Tsan	Fluid	猿	Ape
22	井	Ching	Wood	犴	Tapir
23	鬼	Kuei	Metal	羊	Sheep
24	柳	Liu	Earth	獐	Muntjak
25	星	Hsing	Sun	馬	Horse
26	張	Chang	Moon	鹿	Deer
27	翼	Yi	Fire	蛇	Serpent
28	軫	Chen	Fluid	蚓	Worm

on the day in which these stars are in the ascendant; they are Nos. 1, 2, 9, 15, 16, 23, and 25. If troops are dispatched on these days, none of them will return alive. If ships put out to sea, they will inevitably meet with bad weather. If a mandarin enters upon his term of office on one of these days, he will suffer a violent death before his third year has expired. If houses are built, or wedding ceremonies performed, the sound of weeping will be heard within the space of three years. And in like manner other undertakings will end in misfortune.

Over and above these there is a series of twelve characters, named respectively:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
建	除	滿	平	定	執	破	危	成	收	開	閉

The first of these corresponds with the day of the month on which the names of the day and of the month (taken from the twelve earthly branches) are identical—*e.g.* in the *month* which comes under the branch Tze (子), one *day* is also denominated by this branch, and the series of twelve characters begins with this day, which is called the "Foundation Day." Sometimes it is necessary to repeat one of the characters of the series in order to make the first character synchronise with the Foundation Day; in such cases any one of the series may be used with the exception of the first and seventh, except in special emergencies.

A further subject which must be taken into consideration is that of the lucky and unlucky

stars which preside over each day, as shown by the calendar. It will be easily seen that the system thus outlined affords a fruitful opportunity to professional astrologers, fortune-tellers, and others to practise their craft; and the endless number of combinations which the system makes possible can only be manipulated by an expert; and though the people who possess calendars (and no household is considered complete without one) may endeavour to elucidate the mystery of presiding Fate, the extraordinary development of this system of jugglery, and the numberless additions which have been made from time to time, render the task almost impossible: so much so that the remark is often made that "Ignorance of the Yin and the Yang need not be a cause of fear"—*i.e.* the system has become so complicated that absolute neglect need not occasion alarm. "Like a circle in the water," it has so far developed that it "disperses to nought," and excessive demands upon credulity have given birth to scepticism.

Of the application of this system it will now be necessary to treat. Each year bears a distinctive name, as well as being distinguished by the Emperor's name and the age of his reign. Thus a year may be described as the thirty-first year of the Emperor Kwang-shu, and also possess a further title derived from the combination of the ten Celestial Stems and the twelve Earthly Branches. As these two systems consist of unequal numbers (one exceeding the other by two), they permit of a great many combinations:

thus the eleventh year of the latter corresponds with the first year of the second revolution of the former, the ten stems being all exhausted before the twelve branches have run their course; and it takes sixty years, or one complete cycle, before the two systems begin again on equal terms. The months are distinguished not only by numerals and by their several poetic names, but also by two characters, formed by the combination of the Celestial Stem and Earthly Branch as in the case of the years.

The days are still further cumbered with marks of distinction. There is first the number of the day—*i.e.* its numerical position in the month; then there are its distinctive characters representing the Celestial Stems and Earthly Branches; then, further, there is the special element (one of the five) to which it is related; then the constellation (one of the twenty-eight) to which it belongs; the character (one of the twelve) of good or evil omen, which revolve in a constant succession; and, finally, the lucky stars which appear in the calendar above the day, and the unlucky stars, which are printed below, as settled by the imperial astronomers. The several combinations of these, and the varying influences of one upon another, must be taken into consideration when inquiring into the character of the day, and its suitability for undertaking various enterprises. The calendar does, indeed, advise as to certain important points—*e.g.* indicating what special operations may be taken in hand or which must be avoided—but it is impossible in each case to

give a complete list; and, even if the calendar were so constructed as to indicate all possible contingencies, there would still remain the "personal equation" to be taken into consideration, for, in this instance, "one man's meat" might be "another man's poison"; in other words, the horoscope of the person concerned must be consulted, for if, for instance, a certain day on which he was minded to undertake some business could be shown to be, from all points of view, most felicitous, so far as the calendar is concerned, yet if the symbolical animal presiding over that day should be found to be inimical to that under whose sign he was born, this would have the effect of upsetting all the inquirer's calculations, and rendering the verdict of the calendar, as far as he is concerned, of no account, and another day would have to be chosen.

The system will be best illustrated by selecting a day as a sample, say the first day of the first month in the year Hsing-chou (辛 丑), or the 26th of Kwang-shu—*i.e.* February 19th, 1901.

The month is called Kang-ying (庚 寅), and the Foundation Day is the first day—*i.e.* the earthly branch on this day being the same as that of the month—*i.e.* ying (寅). The first day of this month, which is selected to illustrate the working of the calendar, has for its Celestial Stem the character Wu (戊), and for the Earthly Branch the character Shen (辰). The element for this day, as discovered by the combination of the stem and branch, is recorded as Wood (木). This is worked out as follows: The stem for

this day is related to Earth, and the branch is also connected with Earth, and, therefore, according to an arbitrary rule of great antiquity, the corresponding element is Wood, or more accurately, "Hidden Wood." These rules are contained in poetic form, the first three lines of which run:

Chia Tzu	Yi chou	= Metal in the sea.
Ping Yin	Ting mao	= Fire in the grate.
Wu Shen	Chi szu	= Wood in the great forest.

The Celestial Stems and Earthly Branches being paired together alternately, the first stem Chia being coupled with the first branch Tzu, the second with the second, etc. The third line of the poem contains the point under consideration—viz. that Wu and Shen, both related to Earth, come under the head of the element Wood.

The constellation for this day, in the order of sequence, is the 27th—viz. 翼 ("Yi"). The character for the day is 滿 ("Man"), which means "full," and marks the day as an ordinary one, the "Stem" and "Branch" for the day being neither opposed nor yet harmonious. The lucky stars for this day, as discovered by the combination of the stem of the day and that of the month, is found to be the star "Heavenly Wealth" (天富), though not all the stars thus discovered are lucky (吉); there is unfortunately a bad star among them—viz. Heavenly Thief (天賊)—and the unlucky star, as shown by the branches of the day and month in conjunction,

is found to be the "disturbing" star (小耗), and thus the unpropitious element is in the ascendant, and the calendar advises against all enterprises on this day, lest, by the influence of the disturbing star, one should be led to murder people, or squander one's wealth and suffer great misfortune.

Now the question of "personal equation" comes in, or, in other words, the eight characters which form the horoscope of each person at the time of birth. These eight characters are composed of the stems and branches respectively of the year, month, day, and hour of birth. These having been ascertained, the first point to discover is whether the five elements are all represented. Suppose, for instance, a man is born at midnight on this day, the stem and branch for this hour (or period of two hours) will be Kuei and Hai (these are discovered by another arbitrary method in poetic form). The year in question is related to Earth, as shown by combination of stem and branch. The month is found to be related to Wood. The day comes under Earth. The hour is shown to belong to Fluid. From this examination it is found that the element Fire is not represented, and, as a result, such a person will be in a state of hurry all his life, for, as the ancient fortune-tellers say :

If a man is short of Fluid, he will be stupid.
If minus Earth, he will be poor and short-lived.
Without Fire, he will always be on the move.
Lacking Metal, he will be overworked.

The next thing is to inquire his affinities and animosities. If born at midnight, as supposed, he comes under the stem Jen and the branch Tzu, and these two, when combined, represent the element Fluid which is opposed by Earth (represented by the year and day), and so he should be stupid; but, fortunately, the element Wood is found latent in Fluid, according to the old rule, and as Wood is a devourer of Earth, there is hope that the enemy may be overcome by this concealed ally; and not only so, but, because of this "cross-fire," he is likely to become something of a bully. Further, the month being related to Wood, and the day, though properly related to Earth, also contains the element wood, and the hour, as has been shown, comes also under Wood—in this case, then, the element Wood, thus often repeated, may be taken to represent a large family of brothers = three out of four children, *i.e.* the month, the day, and the hour, and, as a consequence, the person will suffer as a member of a large family amongst which the patrimony is so sub-divided as to allow each individual member but a small share, and he will find it difficult to make ends meet all his life. Had he been born in the early autumn, when Wood is decadent, he might have had a chance; but being born in the early spring, when Wood is strongly in the ascendant (vegetation just then gathering strength to shoot up), his chances are very small indeed.

Again, with reference to his symbolic animal, the year being represented by the characters Hsin-

Chou (辛 丑), he comes under the sign of the Ox (note, such people rarely eat beef in China); the sign for the month is Tiger, for day is Dragon, for hour is Rat—and as these all stand close together in the twelve branches (all being included in the first five—*i.e.* Ox = 2, Tiger 3, Dragon 5, Rat 1), they may be regarded as near neighbours; not to mention the fact that the Rat and the Dragon are mutually related to the element Fluid, so there is no danger of antipathy to be feared from this quarter.

The above will give some idea of the ramifications of the subject, and the elaborate calculations which must be made in forecasting the future of a person born under certain circumstances. It would be easy to further illustrate the subject, and to state the mnemonic rhymes which are committed to memory, especially by blind fortune-tellers, and which supply arbitrary rules relating to the combinations of certain symbols and consequent modifications of their power and significance.

It may be interesting to append a list of undertakings which are contra-indicated by the ten Celestial Stems and the twelve Earthly Branches as they are met with in the month.

Ten Celestial Stems

1 Chia } Avoid opening the granary—*i.e.* to draw on the new store of rice.
2 Yi } Avoid planting trees, etc.

For 1 represents Wood in the ascendant,

and would be equivalent to hurting young trees at the period when they are beginning to shoot up.

2 represents Wood in decline, and to plant at this time would be fruitless.

3 Ping } Avoid building or repairing the kitchen stove.
4 Ting }

4 Ting } Avoid shaving the head.

For 3 represents the element Fire in its most potent manifestation, and to add to it might cause a conflagration.

4 also represents Fire, but on a smaller scale, and to shave the head, especially of a child, might induce heating of blood and consequent inflammation. This is specially important in the fifth moon, which also comes under the element Fire, and thus furnishes a double motive for carefulness.

5 Wu } Avoid receiving land.
6 Chi }

6 Chi } Avoid releasing mortgages.

For this is the "Foundation Day" of Earth, and therefore Earth must not be disturbed by either receiving or releasing.*

* An amusing story is told in this connection. An old man was excavating close to a wall, which suddenly collapsed and imprisoned him in the hole he had made. His son, hearing of the occurrence, hastened to the spot, and, seeing his father

7 Keng } Avoid winding thread for weaving.
8 Hsin } Avoid manufacturing "soy."

For these days come under the element Metal, which is inimical to stuffs—*i.e.* metal scissors cut cloth, etc.)—and as the flavour of Metal is said to be pungent, it may be expected to spoil the relish, or soy, which is sweet, and thus cause the maker to lose money.

9 Jen } Avoid diverting water.
10 Kuei } Avoid going to law.

For these days are connected with the element Water, which is in the ascendant on the former day, and hence it is not safe to interfere by digging drains, diverting water-courses, etc. ; and as one goes to law with the hope of "coming out on top," and the tendency of Water is to fall, it is better to avoid litigation on this day. Again, as Water generally finds a means of exit, it is likely the "cat" may get "out of the bag," and the litigant may suffer by letting out more than is necessary in evidence, and thus "give himself away."

in this dangerous situation, might have been expected to make strenuous exertions for his release ; on the contrary, he excused himself on the plea that he must first consult the calendar, and returned to the spot after a few moments' absence, upbraiding his father for venturing to dig on a day which was sacred to Earth, telling him he might consider himself justly punished for his temerity, and refusing to take any steps towards extricating him from his uncomfortable and dangerous position until the next day.

Twelve Earthly Branches

1. Avoid resorting to diviners or seeking for oracles, for this is the day of the Rat, who is gifted with prescience, and oracular responses on this day may be inspired by the Rat rather than by the Divinity, and the inquirer be thus misled.

2. Avoid assuming the "Cap of Manhood" or the "Hair-clip of Puberty" on this day. (Boys on coming of age, at twenty, are supposed to be capped, though the ancient rite is often neglected; and maidens of sixteen bind their hair with a small clip to indicate the fact of maturity.) For this day is consecrated to the Ox, and as the common expression, "An ox and a horse wearing clothes," is equivalent to calling a person a "brute," hence the assumption of the above ceremonial decorations is to be avoided on this day, lest the wearer come under this designation.

3. Avoid offering sacrifice, for this is the Tiger's day, and, as the Spirits are afraid of the Tiger, they will probably not present themselves when you sacrifice to them, and your offering will be all in vain.

4. Avoid repairing your well, or moving into new premises, for the Hare, whose day this is, is white—*i.e.* funereal—in colour, and mourning will surely follow.

5. Avoid weeping on this day, for the Dragon is in the ascendant, and, as the Empire is symbolised by the Dragon, to weep on this day would be equivalent to bemoaning the State, and thus

invite disaster. Avoid bathing on this day, for the Dragon is abroad in the Waters, and may seek to secure a victim.

6. Avoid starting on a journey, for the Snake is a slow traveller, and your progress may be impeded.

7. Avoid erecting a roof-tree or an awning, for this day belongs to the Horse, and your roof may be rendered insecure by the trampling of his hoofs.

8. Avoid physic, for the Sheep, who patronises this day, is generally regarded as the image of a sick man, and the name is a synonym for "thin"; hence the more medicine you imbibe the worse you will grow.

9. Avoid "settling" the bridal bed, for this is the Monkey's day, and, as every one knows, the Monkey is the most restless of creatures; hence the bed which is "settled" on this day will prove to be an uneasy one to the newly married couple. (NOTE.—The bridal bed is "settled" on a lucky day, a short time before the wedding is consummated. A male friend or relation is selected to share the bed with the bridegroom-elect until the night of the wedding, for it is believed that a lonely occupation of the bridal bed would portend an early separation of the young couple.)

10. Avoid receiving guests or paying visits, for the Cock is a quarrelsome bird, and always shows fight to strangers. On this day, therefore, social relations may be somewhat strained.

11. Avoid interfering with dogs, beating or expelling them, for the Dog is paramount on this day, and may pay you out in the next life when

your lonely ghost is traversing the "Bad dog village."

12. Avoid marriage or giving in marriage, for this is the Pig's day, and your offspring might haply come to be described in the popular, but hardly polite phrase, "Born of a pig and reared by a dog."

XXV

SOME FUNERAL CUSTOMS

It would be wellnigh impossible to deal exhaustively with this subject within the limits of a single chapter, so varied are the methods which obtain in different parts of the Empire; but the following pages may be taken to represent some characteristic features which are found in the Chehkiang Province, with some divergencies which are exhibited in other places, and which present some items deserving of special mention.

The importance of the subject will be at once evidenced when we consider that there is, perhaps, no event in the "pilgrimage" of the "Chinaman" (to use a hybrid but popular designation) which demands so great attention, such scrupulous observance of immemorial custom, and lavish expenditure of labour and capital, as the carrying out of a "decent funeral." Birth and marriage are occasions of very great importance, but Death, in a double sense, figurative and literal, overshadows all; and it is for this reason that we may expect to find, in the study of some of these customs, a further

glimmering of light upon that mysterious entity which we call the Chinese mind. The outward observances upon which he devotes so great an expenditure of time and money must, to some extent, exhibit the trend of his inward thought, and this should be especially the case in a matter of such importance as that which is now under consideration. Here, too, we see him as he is; not posing for his photograph, as it were, but naturally following the bent of his nature and education. Another point which deserves consideration is this—viz. that these ceremonies are, to a large extent, "home-made"; they do not arise from Confucianism, nor are they wholly Buddhistic or Taoistic—the fact that they differ so widely in adjacent districts may serve to evidence their local origin; and it is further confirmed by observation, for it is obvious to the most casual observer that funeral observances grow from year to year in number and variety, and, in a place like Shanghai, for instance, one might almost say there is an evolution exhibited in each successive funeral. Confucius lays down no rules with regard to the treatment of the dead, beyond the admonition that all things should be done "decently and in order," that the family circumstances should be taken into account, and that the various classes of society should be guided by the precedents which obtain in each class—the tradesman should not seek to emulate the official, and so forth; but he enunciates one general principle, which should govern the conduct of the entire affair: "In

mourning it is better to be sorrowful than punctilious." It need hardly be pointed out that Chinese funerals of the present day exhibit the exact antipodes of these two principles; there is a frantic desire on the part of all classes to "go one better" than their neighbours, and the copious tears which are shed are less due to a feeling of heart-broken grief than to the artful application of a piece of raw ginger to the eyes!

It is hardly necessary to say that the observance of these customs is inseparably connected with the extraordinary development of the idea of filial piety, and the ancestral worship of which it is the inspiration and the key. A detailed investigation of the lessons which such customs are calculated to impart is hardly admissible in this connection, but one conclusion which may be arrived at is this: that the conduct of Chinese funerals supplies a cue to Chinese character which has not been sufficiently emphasised. Nothing shows so plainly the spirit of frantic egotism and emulation which seems to possess every Chinese household—a spirit which insists upon carrying out, to the utmost detail, all the traditional funeral observances, without the slightest reference to the pecuniary circumstances of the case, or the load of debt which the outlay is sure to involve. Appearances must be kept up at whatever cost, and though every one knows that the family is not worth $100, it is determined to make a show of spending $1,000. Gambling and opium

smoking are perhaps the vices of the present day which most impoverish the Chinese, but funeral expenses may be said to make a good bid for third place. Innumerable cases are met with of families being irretrievably ruined by the extravagance of one funeral ceremony, and the acquisition of a grave site; and the evil shows no sign of abatement, but rather of aggravation.

It would be well for all students of the Chinese and Chinese affairs, and especially for those who have direct dealings with the Chinese—diplomatists, merchants, and missionaries—to bear this national characteristic in mind. It is an undoubted fact that many of our failures to impress the Chinese, in whatever way, have resulted from the inability to comprehend this remarkable trait of the Chinese character. Patronise the Chinese, and what is the result? Punish him, and do you find yourself in any better position? By either method you offend his pride, without advancing your own cause by a hairbreadth; he refuses to acknowledge himself beaten, and is utterly unaffected by your assumption of superiority. Full allowance must be made for the national pride before armed remonstrance or lofty condescension can be of the least avail. The thought is worthy of consideration, though the discussion of it would be somewhat out of place in a description of "Funeral Customs."

When all remedies have failed to retain the departing spirit, the dying man is prepared for

entering the presence-chamber of the gods, before whom he must appear: the god of the local temple, the god of the city walls and moats, and the god of Hades. His head is shaved, his body and extremities washed, his nails on hands and feet are cut, the parings being carefully preserved, and his underclothing changed. When *in articulo mortis* he is supported in a sitting posture, and not permitted to lie down, it being believed that the soul makes its escape from a recumbent figure by the lower part of the body, and, as a result, on reincarnation will be gross and stupid; whilst from the upright body it flies aloft through the mouth, and re-appears eventually by transmigration in a highly developed condition. Tinsel money and charms are burnt before him, and the ashes collected, wrapped in paper, and placed in his hand, whilst he is informed that the expenses of the journey have all been provided, and he frequently nods his head in contentment if unable to give vocal expression to his feelings (*cf.* the Chaldæan custom of placing a bowl of dates in the hand to provide food for the journey, and the Russian practice of furnishing the dying with a printed paper in the Slavonic character which has been already recited by a priest). In Shaohing no effort is made to assist the dying to a sitting posture, but it frequently happens that a man just before expiring makes an effort to sit up, in order, as they say, that the messenger of Hades may put a chain around his neck with which to lead him away, and it is at this stage that his hand

opens and the ashes of the burnt sycee are put in it, when it immediately closes; dollars or cash he will reject, but this he clutches convulsively. Sometimes a small lantern, obtained from a Buddhist temple, and already used in the worship of Heaven, is placed in his hand, and he is advised to hold it fast, as the way before him will be dark; and again he nods his acquiescence. If the family can afford it, a sedan-chair with two bearers is purchased, all manufactured out of paper and bamboo, and the bearers are given distinctive names and invited to partake of food which is set before them, and strings of paper money are placed upon their shoulders: the small lantern is taken from the hand of the dying man and fastened to the pole of the chair, and the whole paraphernalia—chair, bearers, tinsel, and lantern—are burnt in the open air. If by any chance the sick man should recover after the burning of the chair and bearers, it is supposed that they are still to be found within call if necessary, so that in case of a relapse it will not be necessary to buy a new outfit, but only to recall the bearers by name and present them with refreshments, and a fresh supply of paper money is burnt before the invisible conveyance and its bearers. To die in the early morning is in some places considered felicitous, because there are three meals left for his posterity to enjoy; but to die after the consumption of the evening meal is considered to be ill-omened, for then, by implication, there is nothing left for the successors.

It is important that the several sons of the dying man, and other relatives, should be present to attend the death-bed ; and, as they weep, they call upon him not to leave them, but to awaken from his sleep—very much as the ancient Romans did. The cries of daughters are considered to have special virtue in opening Heaven's gate, and a man who does not possess a daughter or two is much to be pitied—contrary to a prevalent but very erroneous idea current among foreigners.

The moment death takes place an elder conducts the proceedings, and orders the queues of the sons to be unravelled, and candles to be lighted before the ancestral shrine and the god of the Hearth, because the warrant for the capture of the departed soul is supposed to have arrived from the god of Hades, and it must be countersigned by the ancestral spirits, or their representative, and the god of the Hearth. This warrant is supposed to have arrived three days before death, and its advent is frequently announced by the dying man, who requests that arrangements be made for his departure, which is to take place at such a time three days later. When asked what he has seen he will sometimes reply, "I saw a man bearing a white thing about six inches long by one inch wide, which he showed me, bearing some characters written on it." Sometimes the warning is given to some other person, who suddenly hears the peculiar sound made by a split bamboo striking against something, and thrice repeated; occasionally the dread messenger is said to be seen by others—a gigantic figure

clothed in white, whose back alone is seen, his face being invisible.

The messengers of the god of Hades are said to be two—viz. the *living Wu-ch'ang* and the *dead Wu-ch'ang*, the name Wu-ch'ang meaning "Uncertain," and being explained by the uncertainty of the summons of Death. The living Wu-ch'ang is not a demon, but the soul of a living man, who is employed by the Wu-ch'ang to guide him to the house of his victim. The true "Uncertain," as coming from the hidden world, is unable to find his way in the light of day, and requires a mortal spirit to guide him; and the living man thus selected falls into a trance or faint, during which he fulfils the behests of the messenger from Hades, and when he awakens from his trance refuses to reply to all questions put to him, except to say that he has been employed in catching a soul: to say more would be to "reveal the secrets of his prison house" and bring down the wrath of King Pluto. Some say that these two characters represent not individual agents of Pluto, but only the two souls (the animal and the spiritual, *i.e.* the psyche and the pneuma) which every one possesses—the Hun and the P'o, as they are called in Chinese. The first of these is written in Chinese with a character which means *black* attached to the word for *spirit* or *demon*, and hence represents *black spirit*, and the other has the character which stands for *white* prefixed to the same word, meaning *spirit*, and hence represents *white spirit*, and these have been personified, by the ignorant, as the lictors which come to carry

off the soul; whereas they themselves are the essential parts of the soul, which of its own accord is about to leave its tenement. The *hun*, in conformity with its nature, soars aloft and is dissipated, the *p'o* descends into the element of earth and haunts its old neighbourhood.

(The *p'o* is said to be found in a concrete form in the case of a suicide by hanging; in such a case the person must not be cut down, but the knot must be unravelled; and digging down into the earth immediately beneath, somewhat less than three feet, a small ball of a substance resembling charcoal will be found, which is no other than the *p'o*, and when this is put into the mouth of the suicide his life will return to him, and the *hun* also be ultimately restored.)

The matting on which the deceased is lying is given a pull, with the idea that this will prevent a lingering illness in the next incarnation. A party is dispatched to a neighbouring canal to "buy water" with which to wash the corpse. The water having arrived, the face, hands, feet, and chest of the corpse are perfunctorily washed, and the dead man is removed from his bed and supported on a chair; the matting and straw on which he has been lying are removed and burned in the open street, at a distance of not less than one hundred paces from the house. The direction taken by the bearers of the bedding is carefully arranged according to the time of the year—*e.g.* in the first, fifth, and ninth months it must not be eastward from the house; in the second, sixth, and tenth months it must not be

northward; in the third, seventh, and eleventh months it must be anywhere but west; and in the fourth, eighth, and twelfth months it must not be south. It is of the utmost importance that the feet of the corpse should not touch the ground, and they are supported in the lap of the daughter-in-law, generally covered with a cotton cloth; a small table is spread before the body, containing two bowls, one of rice and the other containing vegetables, etc.—the vegetable, being of the long stalk variety, representing a long life and firm root in the next stage of existence.

Meanwhile another party has gone to announce the death at the local temple. (In Shaohing this is one of the first things to be done.) The sons of the deceased, with the braid removed from their queues, wearing their white gowns, aprons, and white fillets round their heads, and shod with straw sandals, take candles and paper money of two kinds, one representing sycee or shoes of silver, and another folded up in squares, so that when released it falls into long strings representing strings of cash. On arrival at the temple of the god of Agriculture, the eldest son, as chief mourner, lights the candles, makes his prostrations, and burns the paper money; this money is supposed to act as a cumshaw to the god of Agriculture, who is represented as the agent of Pluto in the arrest of the soul, and hence requires a little remuneration. In fact, the whole process is described as *p'u t'ang* or "strewing the Hall," a phrase applied in real life to "squaring the officials" at a yamen in

order to be assured of "justice," and it is fairly inferred that the officials in the nether world are equally amenable to a "consideration." The chief mourner then approaches one of the upright pillars (on the left-hand side if he is mourning for his father or male relation, and the right-hand one if the deceased happens to be a female) and gives three rubs, as if to loosen the cords which are supposed to detain the captive soul. Every image in the temple, without exception, including those of the attendant demons, is respectfully saluted, and all are supposed to have a share in the rich outlay of (paper) "money" which is submitted to the flames. In Peking the visit is paid not to the temple of Agriculture, but to the "Wu Tao" temple—*i.e.* a temple devoted to the five gods of Hills, Horses, Grain, Fire, and Plague, which are depicted upon the walls, and not moulded into statues, as is usual. No cries must be emitted *en route*, lest the spirit of the dead should become confused and miss the way, but once arrived at the temple, weeping and wailing are permissible. The visit must be repeated a second and third time in the same way; the first time to escort the spirit thither, the second time to visit it when there, and the last time to escort it home again. On this last occasion an old broom is invested with some garments belonging to the dead, and placed in a chair carried by two men. The son precedes the chair to the temple, where, on arrival, he burns incense and paper money, and prostrates himself before the gods; then every member

of the party grasps a handful of paper money, and, either inside or outside the temple, endeavours to recall the spirit, calling upon him as "Father," "Uncle," etc., according to the degree of relationship, and at each cry he strikes the wall with the paper money, relaxing his hold of the paper at the same time. Should the paper by any chance adhere to the wall and remain there, he at once cries out eagerly, "He's here!—He's here!" and the son hurries forward, and, calling out repeatedly "Father!" or "Mother!" as the case may be, reverentially places the paper in his bosom, and, calling out all the time, whilst the others cry in chorus, "Uncle," "Aunt," etc., walks to where the broom is placed, and inserts the piece of paper, now supposed to contain the wandering soul, in the breast of the effigy. The procession then returns home, and the effigy is placed in front of the coffin. On returning to the house, arrangements are made for removing the dead to the middle hall, which is reserved for special occasions, and which also contains the ancestral shrine (but in Shaohing the position of the corpse is first reversed, indicating the hope that the dead man may return from the hidden world, and this is illustrated by the transposition of the fœtus before birth). A meal is laid out on a large sieve and placed before the dead, with wine and candles, and is then carried in procession to the front of the house and laid outside the door; the members of the family, in white clothing, kneel on a piece of coir matting, weeping and prostrating themselves

alternately. Poor people, at this stage, burn three pairs of straw shoes, intended for the two messengers from Hades and the son of one of them, whose name is said to be "Ah-ling." Wealthier people burn instead a paper sedan-chair, with bearers, a valet, and a maid, one carrying a pipe and the other a tea-cup. This process is called "sending off the Wu-ch'ang," and must not be postponed until the next day, for if the Wu-ch'ang is detained he may be tempted to commit an act which will involve the house in ruin. The shoes and sycee are burned, and it is considered a fortunate circumstance to wear a pair of these shoes which may have escaped the fire. The candles are then thrown away and the family retires inside. (In Peking a paper cow, in the case of a female, or a horse, in the case of a male, is burned at the front door to furnish a mount for the departed; and a man ascends the roof, and with a long bamboo pole pokes the chimney from above, in order to clear a space for the departing spirit, which is now supposed to be liberated by the gods, and is expected to return home before starting on his long journey.) The bed is carried out and put in position, its situation varying with the aspect of the building. If, for instance, the hall faces *east*, the head of the bed is placed towards the *north—i.e.* cross-wise; if *west*, the head is towards the *south*; if *south*, the head is *east*; if *north*, the head is *west*. It is considered unlucky to convey a corpse into the house from the outside—in such cases a tem-

porary shed must be erected on the spot; but if the body should be carried inside in defiance of custom, then it will be necessary to remove the ridge pole of the roof, and with an ox-plough turn up the ground on the spot where the coffin had rested: this is supposed to be equivalent to rebuilding the house. In the case of an unmarried person the bed is placed at the side of the hall with the head towards the inside; the idea of this is that the position of honour—*i.e.* crosswise—is reserved for those whose tablets are to have a place in the ancestral shrine, at which unmarried persons are allowed no representation. (In Shaohing the body is placed at the side of the hall with the feet towards the north, and in Peking the head is always towards the door. In Greece and Rome the position was reversed, the feet being towards the outer door.)

The body is then carefully secured to a chair by broad bands, and four strong men are selected to convey it to the state apartment; the head is supported by the eldest son, and the feet by the daughter-in-law. The burden must on no account be laid down until its destination is reached; a fall would be considered a frightful calamity. An umbrella is held over the chair as it moves, to hide one, who is now a denizen of the shades, from the light of Heaven, and handfuls of rice are thrown upon it, with the idea of expelling all evil influences. The corpse is placed on the bed and covered with a coverlet. (In Shaohing a bed is not used, but a door or two planks are substituted.) A sheet of white

paper is placed over the face—the Egyptians used gold-leaf—and the feet are placed close together and propped in position; to allow them to fall apart would mean the death of the nuptial partner shortly after. A messenger is then sent to a Taoist priest, and informs him the date of the deceased's first attack of illness, the time of his death, and the number of his years. The priest writes out these particulars on a large sheet of yellow paper, with the addition of the date on which the spirit may be expected to return, together with the classes of persons, born under certain auspices, whose presence at the coffining is contra-indicated. On obtaining this information, which is sometimes pasted up diagonally on the wall of the house, the family is able to prepare for the return of the departed spirit and his attendant, and a courteous treatment of the latter is considered advisable, in order to secure good treatment for the dead relative on his ghostly journey. Amongst other information given by the Taoist is the date on which the process of coffining should be undertaken, and the "double days," when crying is not permissible, lest a second death should ensue, together with the days when the gods are making holiday; on which days it is of the utmost importance that no dog or other four-footed animal should be permitted to stray under the bed, or rat to run over the coverlet; for if such event were to happen, the dead man would certainly try to get out of bed and move about in the manner of the galvanised dead—*i.e.* by a

succession of short hops as in a sack race. To guard against any such emergency a chair is placed at the side of the bed, on the left hand of the dead man, with its back close to the bedside, and a table set in front of it containing two cups of tea, one for the dead and one for his keeper; the idea being to make a show of providing for the spirit in case he should decide upon getting up, but really to prevent him doing so, for it is understood that, as soon as the corpse embraces anything with his arms, he at once falls back again into unconsciousness, and the chair is thus insinuated so that he may have something on which to hold. A single straw shoe is fastened to the cross-piece or round of the table, and its fellow thrown into the canal; the intention being that the attendant demon may not be able to travel so fast as to tire his victim, and his pace is thus retarded by his being shod on one foot only. Another expedient is the placing of one chopstick for the attendant, so that he may not be able to eat his rice very expeditiously.

A large sheet is hung to screen the body from the observation of people passing the door; and a basket of lime containing a rude lamp, consisting of a bowl of oil with a wick in it, which is kept constantly alight, day and night, so that the deceased may have "a lamp to his feet" wherever he journeys. (Sometimes a special lamp, six branched, is borrowed from the temple for this purpose.)

If the deceased happens to be aged, say seventy

years old or more, the curtain at the foot of the bed is red in colour, to show that death, in his case, should not be considered an occasion of sorrow; and no word of consolation is spoken, or sign of grief is shown, by the visitors; on the contrary, nothing but compliments are heard that such a happy consummation has been reached, full of years, and in the midst of a numerous posterity. Wine-drinking, the "Morra," etc., are all the rule, and any one would be laughed at who insinuated that there was any occasion for grief. It is to be noted that until the actual coffining takes place the candles used are of the usual red variety; white candles are not employed until all hope of revival has departed, and the body is about to be placed in the coffin.

The head and feet of the corpse are supported on specially made pillows of yellow cotton, stuffed with paper waste (in Shaohing the pillow is made of paper specially cut to represent strings of cash; or, in country districts where cotton is manufactured, a reel on which cotton is wound is used instead).

A swift messenger is despatched to take the news of the decease to the relatives, who are expected to send gifts to the bereaved family. In Shaohing two duck-eggs are given to the messenger by each family, and as the messenger travels very fast, the gift has passed into a proverb, so that sometimes when a man in a great hurry collides with another man in the street, he is asked in an injured way, "Are you going to announce

THE GAME OF "MORRA": THUMBS UP.

a death?" or, "I suppose you are going to eat duck-eggs." The messenger carries an umbrella under his arm, and on arrival at a house he places it on end outside the door, it being supposed that the soul of the departed is confined within it. The presents consist of small quilts, about three feet long and a little more than a foot wide, which are carefully marked and reserved for placing in the coffin in due course; they are thus marked to ensure that those furnished by important members of the family should have a first place. Some one is in constant attendance in the "Hall of Filial Piety," as it is called for the nonce, generally the daughter or daughter-in-law, and at night all the male members of the family sleep in attendance on the dead. The day on which visitors are invited to pay their respects to the dead (called Kai Tiao) varies in different places: in Ningpo it may be on the third or fifth day before the funeral; in Shaohing it is held on the day before the funeral. Notices are posted up announcing the programme for each day. If, for instance, five days are so arranged, five separate posters give the events. Notice of the arrival of visitors is given by the gateman, who beats three times on a drum, a trumpet is sounded and a hand-cannon discharged. The musicians then strike up, and the mourners are warned of the approach. The chief mourner kneels at the side of the spirit table—the stewards escort the visitor to the curtain, where he kneels four times and bows four times. The offerings made by

visitors on such occasions are sent on beforehand, and consist of paper articles, meats for sacrifice, or a pair of small scrolls called *wan* and a larger one of silk containing four large characters in gold, which is called *chow*. The two words *wan* and *chow* contain a paronomasia implying a desire to bear a hand in drawing the hearse, the word *wan* meaning "to pull," and *chow* "an axle." The name of the visitor and the nature of his offering are recorded in a book by a writer who sits at a side table, so that, when occasion requires, a similar return may be made to the donor.

The servants who bring these gifts are given money or pieces of calico, and a set of ten handsome bowls, with a large piece of calico, is given them for presentation to their master; numbers of people on such occasions go to the house of mourning with cheap gifts of candles, etc., in the hope of receiving presents in return, on the Chinese principle of "presenting a quince in the hope of receiving a gem." Refreshments are served to visitors before departing. At noon a notice is posted bearing the characters "Pi Ling," which indicate that the reception of visitors is concluded for that day.

The style of the coffin varies throughout the empire. In some places it represents the trunk of a tree; in the North the lid projects considerably over the head. In Ningpo and Shaohing there is nothing remarkable about the shape, and the quality is determined by the circumstances of the family. Wealthy people prefer to buy their own coffin beforehand, and keep it stored

either in an outhouse or in a temple, paying 200 cash a year for rent. Some buy the "longevity planks," as they are called, keep them till seasoned, and then employ carpenters to make the coffin when required; others buy the coffin ready-made from a coffin-shop or from one of the charitable societies. At the end of the coffin a lotus flower is carved, expressing the hope that the deceased may become a Buddha and take his stand on a lotus, the posture which Buddha is represented as assuming.

When the time for coffining has arrived (at Ningpo it takes place at the time of full tide, and preferably after dinner, so that the deceased may not be put hungry to "his narrow bed"; but in Shaohing it must be done before daylight in the morning, or in the dark of evening, on a day bearing an odd number, 3, 5, 7, etc., for fear of another death taking place if an even day should be selected), the floor of the coffin is covered with a layer of fine sifted lime or charcoal, then a layer of large squares of coarse paper, five in number; upon these a narrow strip of matting, sometimes manufactured of special material like lamp-wick, is placed, and upon the top of all a cotton mattress. (At this stage the "purchase of the water," above referred to, takes place at Shaohing, and not at the earlier period as at Ningpo.) The chief mourner, the eldest son, invests himself in the clothes which are eventually to be put upon the corpse; whether male or female garments makes no difference.

While dressing he stands in the middle of a

large bamboo tray used for drying rice, etc., and the garments he puts on in order must be in odd numbers. His head is bound with a white fillet, and, holding a bucket in one hand and a bundle of incense in the other, he walks, or, in the case of an infant, is carried to the waterside, an umbrella being held over his head all the time, as he is impersonating the dead, and must be screened from the eye of Heaven. In some cases he is escorted with music and fireworks. Paper money of different kinds is burnt; a cash, with a large nail fastened in the centre, is thrown into the canal or river, and the water, which is thus supposed to be purchased, is drawn up and taken to the house. Here it is first warmed, and a few rubs are given to the chest of the corpse by way of a bath. The water is then carried to a distance and poured slowly away—it must not be done hurriedly, lest the demon attendant should be roused to anger. In some cases, where there is no son, a number of loafers come forward and offer to unravel their queues and act the part of sons, in order to obtain a share in the dead man's effects, causing much trouble thereby.

The hair of the dead man is then combed by the daughters and daughter-in-law, each taking a turn, kneeling and weeping at the same time; and then the hair is rolled up into a kind of knot on the top of the head, something like the top-knot worn by the Chinese of the Ming dynasty, thus exemplifying the popular proverb, "The living submit [to the Manchus], the dead do not."

The garments for the dead are specially made

for the occasion, if the family can afford it, and are fashioned after the pattern of the old Chinese costume, like that of the present Coreans; no buttons or knots are permitted—the Chinese word for *knot* being pronounced like that meaning *difficulty* or *trouble*, and all such difficulties must be prevented from accompanying the traveller. Instead of buttons the wick of a candle is sometimes employed to take the place of tape, and is said to act as a walking-stick to beat off the dogs which beset the traveller at certain stages. (In Shaohing no pregnant woman is allowed a part in the making of these garments.)

The son then divests himself of the clothes he has assumed, taking them all off in one movement without separating the several garments, and they are suspended over the backs of two chairs, and perfumed or aired by means of a brazier, containing fragrant herbs, placed underneath. Furs or leather of whatever kind are carefully excluded, lest the dead should be turned into an animal in his next re-incarnation. (It is interesting to note that in Russia equal care is taken to avoid a pigeon's feather being inserted in the pillow.) Written characters of all kinds are entirely excluded; such as might be found in the shape of shop-marks on the clothing or shoes being carefully erased; for the burial of these with the corpse would mean a defilement of the sacred literary character, and the descendants of the dead man would inevitably be punished by being born without intelligence.

A peculiar custom found in Hupeh and Ngan-

hwui is the swathing of silk balling, which is wound tightly round the trunk, body, and limbs, being then joined together at the edges. It covers the head and the whole body like a glove, reminding one of the Egyptian mummy bandages; a small section is afterwards cut out to expose the features. This is worn between the inner and outer suits.

The clothes are then laid out on the inverted lid of the coffin, and the dead man carefully placed in position for convenience of dressing: his arms are drawn into the sleeves; a long cord, which runs through the sleeves, is then fastened in a "lucky" knot, and the clothes are carefully smoothed into position. The hands are placed cross-wise over the lower part of the body, the left hand uppermost in the case of males, and the right in the case of females. A pair of cheap shoes, gummed instead of stitched, are placed on his feet, and an official hat with a red tassel is put on his head. If he is entitled to wear a button on his hat, as a sign of having graduated or of holding office, he retains the button; but if he has obtained his decoration by purchase, the certificate setting forth the fact must be burned, and the ashes placed in a bag for burial with him, in case his right to such distinction should be challenged in the next world. A true graduate or officer has no need of such credentials.

In upper-class families a winding-sheet of deep red is used, sometimes of satin and elaborately embroidered, forming a sort of large bag like a sleeping-bag, in which all but the head is enclosed,

and it is fastened at one side with tapes. (In Shaohing the dead is invited to partake of food before he is placed in the coffin.) A satchel containing paper money, a piece of silver, and the Taoist placard, is put on his shoulder; a piece of silver is placed under his tongue (just as the Greeks placed an obolus in the mouth of the dead, with which to pay the ferryman Charon); a small pearl, called "tranquillising the heart" pearl, is placed on the breast (reminding one of the scarab which the Egyptians placed there); and, in the case of a woman, a small pearl is inserted in the toe of each shoe.

Pious women, who have been ardent Buddhists in their lifetime, wear a black fillet, with a small Buddha of silver or jade in the centre, round their foreheads; and a silver hairpin, after the fashion of "Moginlin's staff," the staff with which he forced the gates of hell and released his mother, is placed in the hair.

When a young betrothed maiden dies before her wedding-day has arrived, she is buried in the clothes she should have worn at the marriage ceremony (reminding one of the Russian custom of burying young married women in their wedding-dress). Young girls, too, have their heads decorated with flowers, as in Russia. Another point of similarity is the practice of having the grave-clothes prepared beforehand, in the case of old people. The Chinese often do this, and like to "hansel" the clothes by wearing them on a visit to a temple. They are carefully preserved, and the loss of them, through fire or otherwise,

would be considered a dread calamity, for "merit" is supposed to be stored up in them.

The mention of unmarried persons suggests a reference to the curious custom of post-mortem marriage. If, for instance, a young man of marriageable age should die unmarried, the parents make inquiries in order to discover a suitable bride for him amongst the young maidens who have died about the same time, and when the arrangements are completed the two coffins are buried together.

The corpse is now lifted and placed carefully in the coffin, the son supporting the head and the daughter-in-law the feet, with others assisting at the sides. It is important that it should rest exactly in the centre, and in some places a long cord, weighted at both ends, is placed over the coffin, lengthwise, so as to find the exact centre, and the nose of the corpse is brought into line with this. Small bags of lime, varying in number (in Shaohing nominally 36, really 18; in Ningpo 24), are then inserted to keep the head and feet in position; the feet must be kept close together, or the partner of the deceased will be called away to keep company in the world of spirits. The pipe, fan, and handkerchief of the deceased are also inserted, and five small bags of different colours, containing nail-pairings, old teeth which have fallen out from time to time, together with a small quantity of tea and rice (*cf.* Egyptian custom of collecting the sawdust from the floor on which the body was cleansed, and burying it in bags, twenty or thirty in number, so careful

were they that no fragment of the mortal frame should be misplaced); a small casket containing a rosary, and the undress cap and "riding" jacket are also added—for the garments which the dead is at present wearing are his ceremonial clothes, required for his audience with the gods: these others he will wear on his journey. If the deceased happens to have parents living, he is also furnished with a complete set of mourning clothes, which he will be able to wear in the unseen world when his parents' decease takes place. Then each person present takes from his breast a small piece of cotton-wool, called "warm-the-heart cotton," and, rolling it up into a small ball, throws it into the coffin. The relatives are then invited to take a last look, and care must be taken that no tears are allowed to drop in, lest the corpse should be found in another existence with marks or stripes on his face. Then the various coverlets are laid on in regular order, those presented by near relatives being given first place, and so on in order of precedence, until the coffin is quite full; whatever quilts are unable to find a place inside the coffin are burned. Before the lid is put on, all who are regarded as representing astral influences inimical to the deceased are requested to withdraw, either to the open air or to a space more than one hundred paces distant, and are only allowed to return when the lid has been put in place. The lid is first smeared with crude varnish, to make it air-tight, or sometimes a cement made of rice, vinegar, and flour is used.

Usually four large nails are employed to fasten the lid, but sometimes a sort of double wedge, fitting into a socket in the lid above, and a corresponding one in the side of the coffin, is used instead. Another very large nail is placed in position, called "posterity nail," because the word for *nail* is similar to that used for *man*, and the idea is that in adding a *nail*, *posterity* will be also increased. This nail is not driven home at once, but reserved until the day before the funeral.

The nails are driven in by a senior, the sons and, in some cases, the daughters meanwhile crouching under the trestles on which the coffin rests, lest the eyes of the departed should start out at the hammering.

When the lid is fixed in position, the mourners are allowed to plait their queues with hemp-cord, and wear coarse shoes instead of the straw sandals they have been wearing, and they are permitted to eat. The coffin is then bound with strong ropes, and a carrying-pole placed in position; this pole is called "Tai-ping pole," and is never removed, however long the coffin may remain in the house, the object being to have everything ready for removal in case of fire. Food is now placed at the side of the coffin, and the dead and his gaoler are invited to partake; the friends and relatives kneel to pay their last respects, and the chief mourner returns the compliment on behalf of the departed. Two piles of paper money are then burned, one for the dead and the other for his guardian; and it is important

that the supply intended for the former should be first consumed, for if the keeper gets his share first he may draw off his victim before he has had an opportunity of taking his quota. (In Shaohing tall bamboos with a cross-piece or yard, and bearing streamers and lanterns, are set up after the coffining, but only when Buddhist and Taoist priests are employed.)

The mourners then partake of a meal, and if the friends from a distance elect to return home at once, they may do so; but if they decide to stay longer, they must not go before the third day. This is a further observance of the principle that odd numbers must obtain in all funeral ceremonies. The "filial curtain," a white cotton curtain, is then hung up before the coffin, and drawn partially back at both sides; a table and chair are placed in front, a white cover like an altar-cloth draping the table. Regular meals are served to the deceased on this table every day—tea about five a.m., breakfast at eight or nine, tiffin at noon, and tea at night, and each time a meal is served the server is expected to wail and cry. This continues until the funeral. On each side of the chair are placed tall paper structures representing hills—one called the "golden" and one the "silver" hill, intended to indicate the vast sums which the fond relatives have provided for the voyager; and behind these are tall figures of the "Golden Youth" and the "Jade Maiden," bearing streamers to guide him across the "Fairy Bridge." The portrait of the deceased is hung up behind the chair, supported

on each side by scrolls bearing doleful inscriptions, and with white candles placed in front. The chair is occupied by the ancestral tablet, mounted on an inverted tub, and crowned by a piece of red silk fastened with red cord. The wording of the tablet reads, "Ch'ing [dynasty] of the Rank of Such-and-such, Master So-and-so's Spirit Chief." The last word *Chief* stands for the character for *Lord* (representing another word of similar sound which means *tablet* and *present*), which contains an extra dot. This dot is not inserted until later on, when a scholar of eminence is invited to add the dot, and thus become the "surety" or "advocate" of the dead person.

The day before the funeral, bonzes and Taoists are invited to conduct "masses," called "the Water Mass," the object of which is to cleanse the departed of all sins and transgressions committed during his life. In the afternoon a bowl containing rice, and a thread rope consisting of seven strands, on which are threaded and tied twenty-four cash, is presented to a bonze, who places it on a table in front of the table already referred to, and, as he recites the virtues of Buddha in releasing souls from pain and trouble, he unties the knots in succession, putting the cash one by one into his vest; he then appropriates the string, and finally hands the rice to a novice, to be put aside in a place where he will be able to find it again. The meaning of this untying of knots is to illustrate the release from all tightness and difficulties in the next world. When this is done, the bonze takes a

"wooden fish" in his hand, and, beating the fish with a small wand, leads a procession of the women and children present, including a younger son of the deceased, who follows immediately after the priest and holds a stick of incense in his hand. Each person takes a paper "sycee," a model of the "shoe" of silver, in hand, and all do a sort of "ring-a-ring-a-rosy" around the coffin, repeating the Buddhistic formula "Nan wu o me to fu"; each in turn dropping his sycee in a brazier placed before the table, and taking up another sycee for the next round. Nine revolutions are made in all, with a short interval after each third round. The next thing is done by a Taoist, who takes a tray containing rice, a nail, and a handkerchief containing forty-eight cash. He places the tray on the coffin, and touches the four corners of the coffin with the bundle of cash and the nail consecutively, repeating at the same time some pious expressions for the welfare of the family. He then empties the rice on to the coffin-lid. The chief mourner having removed his inner vest, hands it to the priest, and, as he kneels down and holds out the skirts of his robe, receives the rice which the priest sweeps into his lap. This he carries off secretly, and adds it to the family store, which is supposed by this means to derive the properties of the "barrel of meal" and the "cruse of oil" of Scriptural reference. The cash, it need hardly be said, is not returned.

A Taoist then takes his stand at the corner of the table, holding a bell in his hands, and, as

he rings the bell, he chants a sort of sermon, whose text is, "All is vanity," and whose language has a remarkable similarity to the twelfth chapter of Ecclesiastes. He then describes the different stages of the journey to Hades. The journey is divided into seven periods of seven days, or "weeks," which correspond with the various stages of the spirit's wanderings in the infernal regions. These stages are described in detail with a wealth of impromptu illustration and elaboration. During the first "week" the traveller reaches the "Demon Gate Barrier" and is assailed by demons who demand his money, on the excuse that at his last transmigration he borrowed so much from the infernal treasury and must now return it. If he has money to pay, he is let pass, but if not, he is beaten, stripped, and suffers many indignities. The second "week" he comes to a place where he is weighed: the good man proves to be as light as air, but the evil are borne down by their ill deeds, and are punished by being sawn asunder, ground to powder, etc. Nirvana, however, is still very far off, a wave of the "two-sided fan" restores him to his former condition, and he is sent forward on his journey. The third "week" he arrives at the "Bad Dog Village," where, if good, he is recognised joyfully by the fierce beasts, but if evil, he is torn until his blood flows in rivers. At the fourth "week" a gigantic mirror, called the "Mirror of Retribution," is exhibited: the good man, on looking into it, sees himself as he is, in all the beauty of innocence, but the sinner sees only

the presentment of the doom which awaits him; is he to be turned into an animal? then an animal form is reflected before his horrified vision. The fifth "week" he begs to be allowed to return to life, but the god replies that he is no longer fit to take his place with uncorrupted mortals; he thereupon begs at least to be permitted to take a last look at his old home, and is allowed to ascend a high platform from which he may obtain a view. He sees his loved ones at home, occupied with their various duties, and his heart is all the more sorrowful as he realises that he himself has no longer a place in mundane affairs; and it is in order to mitigate his grief that his relations at this period make special offerings of tea and sweetmeats. On the second day of this "week" all the offerings are provided by his married daughter, for, as the proverb says, "In the fifth 'week' he does not eat at the expense of his own family." In the sixth "week" he reaches the bridge which spans the "Inevitable River." This bridge is very high and very narrow, and the water rushes underneath like a whirlpool, showing enormous snakes lifting their heads high out of the water on the look-out for human flesh. At the foot of the bridge stand lictors, who, with iron maces and other weapons, force the unwilling travellers to ascend the bridge and essay the crossing, which inevitably ends in destruction. The bridge is 100,000 feet high and $1\frac{3}{10}$ inch wide, and the only possible way of crossing is by "riding" straddle-legged as on a horse. The good are not forced

to attempt the passage, but are led by the "Golden Youth" and his companion on to the "Fairy Bridges," the gold and the silver bridges which cross the river at the side of this demon "Bridge of Sighs." In the seventh "week" the abode of the "Rajah of the Wheel" is reached, and he is petitioned by the traveller to expedite the process of transmigration. The petitioner is handed over to a "runner," who takes him off to the place of the wheel, and on the way a rest-house is visited, where old Mrs. Mang gives tea "free gratis" to passers-by, they being already thirsty after all their experiences. When the good man has imbibed the tea, he enjoys a comfortable sensation, and a sense of coolness takes possession of him; but the moment the evil-doer tastes the liquid, he forgets all the past, both good and bad. The victim is then driven on towards the great "Wheel of the Law," and takes his place between the revolving spokes. If he is permitted to escape at the top right-hand corner, he finds himself, on re-incarnation, admitted into the ranks of nobility; if by the top left-hand corner, he is relegated to the status of widower or widow, orphan or childless, the lame, the halt, and the blind; if he emerges on the right hand, lower down, he is classed among viviparous animals; if on the left hand, among oviparous animals. The right hand, still lower, is the place of creatures with shells or scales; the left hand corresponding is the sphere of insects.

All this, and very much more, is chanted in a

melancholy voice, together with descriptions of the Buddhist Inferno; and the moral of all is the importance of repentance for not having spent one's days in vegetarianism and the repetition of Buddha's all-potent name, in order to avoid such horrors as have been related. Many of those present are struck with remorse, and exchange notes on the importance of a religious life. When this long discourse is finished, a space is cleared in front of the "spirit-table," and a large square, with ornamental borders, is mapped out on the floor with chaff; in the centre of the square four large characters are traced—twelve oil lamps, provided by the Taoist priests, are disposed round the sides of the square, and the chief mourner has them filled with vegetable oil and supplied with wicks. These lamps are supposed to illumine the darkness of the gate of Hades. A table is placed, and a bonze and six so-called "Taoists" sit at this table, each performing on a different instrument. In the intervals they sing ribald or humorous songs with the intention of exciting laughter, reminding one somewhat of the Roman actors who accompanied funerals and made facetious remarks and gestures. They also sing the "Flower Song of the Twelve Moons," describing the different flowers which bloom in the different months, and other compositions which have apparently very little funereal reference. Ten articles are placed on the spirit-table, such as gold and silver, a rosary, a candle, a bun or loaf of bread, a piece of black gauze, fruit, etc., and flowers cut out of red paper are scattered by

the six singers in turn, and are eagerly snatched up by the children and others, the idea of the flowers being that the dead may imagine that his praises are being sung in flowery rhetoric. The lamps are soon extinguished, and the oil appropriated by the priests, who are said to more than cover the cost of their living by the sale of the oil gained in this way. After a short space all the family and friends join in an evening meal.

After supper the ceremony known as "Fang Yen Kow" takes place. The spirit-table and chair are removed, another chair is substituted and raised by the insertion of something placed underneath, and a priest takes his seat in it; the spirit-table is raised up also, and another placed in front of it, but on a lower level. A bushel measure full of rice, supporting a small figure of Buddha, is placed on the high table, and five figures of acolytes, bearing streamers, are set in order in front, with a candlestick at each end of the table and a censer in the middle. The six assistants sit at each side of the lower table, with a book placed in front of each triplet, together with their musical instruments. Two other tables, supporting two large candles, and twenty-four bowls of vegetable food are placed at a little distance in front, intended for the delectation of the various gods. Five other bowls of bread-stuffs are similarly placed and a large basin containing "Buddha's fingers," made of pastry, which if eaten by children are said to ensure regularity of teeth. Six small cups of wine are placed on

the front table, with three larger cups of tea and three of wine put between. Four other tables are disposed at the sides of the hall, two on each side, intended for the sacrifice to the family ancestors; a small table a little lower down contains the offerings intended for the dead person, and the spirit-tablet sits at this table in the chair as before, attended on each side by relatives in light mourning garments. In the court in front six other tables are placed, three on each side, with food and wine, and lighted by lanterns; and in front of all, in the middle, is a table, at the sides of which are placed the "Gold and Silver Hills," reserved for the "Prince of the Demons," whose effigy, made of paper and bamboo, sits in place. Paper "gods" are suspended on the backs of chairs at each table, representing the ghostly visitants. On the floor a door is laid to represent another table, intended for the lowest grades of spirits, and the wine on this table is contained in a large bowl, the rice being in a basket; neither wine-cups nor rice-bowls are furnished. Two long ropes of straw hang from the pillars at each side of the hall, from which are suspended, as on a clothes-line, paper garments, cash, cheques, and sycee in strings. One of the priests, when all is prepared, gives three rolls to the drum, and the chief priest puts on his tiara and his patchwork robe with jade buckle. He holds in his hand a piece of parti-coloured stuff, which he opens out at each genuflexion, and rolls up when he stands upright. The chief mourner now assumes a lighter mourning costume, and follows the priest as he visits

each table in turn and bows before it, and then invites the priest to resume his seat within the spirit curtain, presenting him with a packet containing 100 cash. Seven bowls of "Longan" fruit are now placed before the priest and his assistants for their delectation. When the priests have finished their reciting, a number of paper garments and money are burned outside the house.

By this time it is about 10 p.m. The apartment is now re-arranged, and preparations for the sacrifice to the dead are made: musicians are requisitioned, large quantities of flesh and fowls are laid out, lamps are hung all over the room, and the chief mourner reverts to his deep mourning garments, and appears from behind the curtain, leaning upon the "filial staff" and supported by attendants. He kneels before the tablet and makes humble offering of the meats, etc. As he prostrates himself, a person standing at the side reads a long panegyric on the dead in a melancholy voice, and the chief mourner weeps as he lies upon his face. He is then escorted to the rear of the screen, and repeats the process three times; all the relatives and friends present follow him in his genuflexions. When all is finished, the offerings and all the temporary fittings are removed, and preparations are made for the funeral. This may take place early or late, sometimes as late as a year. If it is not done during the seven "weeks," boards are put up in front of the coffin, and it is not then necessary to offer the daily portions of food, etc., until

the boards are removed, some three days before the funeral.

In Shaohing the funeral takes place in the fifth watch—*i.e.* between four and five in the morning —perhaps in the fifth week, or as late as one hundred days after death, sometimes even later, and in cases of poverty the coffin is left in the house, or put in a mortuary chamber at an annual rent of two dollars.

Wealthy families erect platforms at the door of the house, the canal-side, the city gate, and the graveside, which are decorated very elaborately and furnished with musicians; and when the funeral procession stops at each of these stations sacrifices are offered and a panegyric is read. Sometimes the platforms, when once passed by the funeral procession, are taken down and re-erected further on in preparation for the next stage, and the ceremonies are repeated.

On the night before the funeral three or five Taoists (in Nganhwui, etc., thirty-two helpers) are called to invite the deceased to start on his journey, and at each watch paper money and white paper balls, five in number, are burnt, the last one being fired by an elder in order to "speed the parting guest." Before daylight the mourners (in Nganhwui and Hupeh) eat "clothing rice," composed of glutinous rice, boiled with beans or lentils, and eaten in regular sequence by all present. This is supposed to ensure that the family will never be without food or clothing. Whatever remains over is placed in a couple of

bottles. (In Shaohing the bottle is filled with eatables of all sorts, and is wound round and round with cotton thread, each member of the family giving a wind to the thread, kneeling and wailing at the same time. The bottle accompanies the coffin to the grave, and is placed on one side for the benefit of any hungry wayfarer who may pick it up.) The expenses of this function are borne by the daughter.

Every one is awake and stirring at daylight when the day arrives, and arrangements are made for the start. An immense paper figure, representing the "Clear-the-way God," leads the van; then come two large bamboos bearing streamers, and four "Wagheads," paper figures of men, whose heads bob continually as they are carried along; then follow two large lanterns bearing the name of the family on the one side and the titles of office, if any, or, in lieu of this, the "T'ang ming," or nickname; then two large gongs, which are beaten at intervals; a small lantern is carried by a man following, who repeatedly burns quantities of "right-of-way" or "buy-the-road" "money" as he goes along, and when the procession arrives at a bridge an extra amount is consumed; then follows a man who sets off squibs from time to time; next in order come four men bearing the "Gold and Silver Hills" and the two figures of the "Golden Youth" and "Jade Maiden," followed by the son-in-law or nephew, who carries a dish containing rice, in which is placed the ancestral tablet. Another person follows, bearing an umbrella,

which he holds over the tablet. In wealthy families the tablet sits in a sedan-chair, which is supported on each side by the son-in-law or nephew. The bearer of the tablet is robed entirely in white, and the friends of the family walk on either side of him. Then follows the coffin, borne by four men, or a larger number, according to the rank of the deceased, and covered with a red pall or with a satin embroidered cover. After the coffin comes the chief mourner, wearing a head-dress of coarse hemp gauze, shaped something like a biretta, with "pom-poms" of cotton-wool placed at the intersections of the frame, and worn over a small white cap. Two long ribbons of gauze hang down the back of his head. His white gown reaches to his ankles, and is not hemmed at the edges; a jacket of coarse gauze is worn over this; a cincture or belt of straw rope, twisted reversely from left to right, is wound round his waist; and a bangle of muslin on his wrist—the left wrist in the case of a male, and *vice versâ*. In his hand he holds a short bamboo wand, covered with white paper clipped into a fringe at the edges. (In Shaohing the staff is made of "Wu-t'ong" wood, if the deceased is a male, of bamboo if a female.) He hangs his head as he walks, and is followed by the relatives, male and female. The daughter-in-law wears a cowl or hood of coarse gauze over her head, and a jacket and skirt of the same material; she also carries a staff or wand like that borne by the chief mourner. She sometimes sits in a sedan-chair,

and the heavy head-dress is then placed on the top of the chair instead of on her head. She weeps and cries aloud as she goes, like the "keener" at an Irish wake.

Rice is thrown over the coffin and chief mourners as soon as they move towards the outside door; and whilst the carrying-poles are being adjusted in the street before starting, a table containing three bowls of tea, three of wine, and four plates of sweetmeats, with candles, incense, and paper sycee, is placed at the foot of the coffin, and these are reverentially offered up to the various gods concerned. One of the bearers lights a paper "horse"—*i.e.* a painted effigy of a "god," and intended to represent the horse upon which the god mounts on his heavenward journey--and touches the different poles one after another, and in country districts a bearer, with a reputation for wit, pours a little wine at the four corners, chanting appropriate or facetious remarks at each. The figure of a crane, with outspread wings and uplifted foot, is placed upon the centre of the coffin, and four paper fan-like decorations, bearing the character "ya," which bears a remarkable similarity to the emblem of the cross, are set up at the corners. The crane is supposed to convey the soul to the "Western Heaven," and the other fittings seem to be connected with the white cotton sheets which are attached thereto, representing the cords with which the chief mourner is supposed to drag the coffin to its destination. The bearers drink the wine and pocket the sweetmeats when the time for starting

has arrived. (In Peking, just before the funeral starts, the effigy of the dead man, composed of an old broom and some garments, is, by the way, washed and combed, and food is placed inside the clothes. He is pressed to make a good meal before starting, for fear he should grow hungry *en route*. He is also asked whether his henchmen —*i.e.* paper figures of male and female attendants —have had enough to eat, and have received their "tips." A voice, that of a man counterfeiting the dead, replies that all has been attended to, and that there is no occasion for anxiety. The attendants are then exhorted to serve their master well on the way. The broom is burnt outside the door just before the procession begins to move, and the son takes a large bowl and breaks it on the ground in front of the coffin.) The son then takes his wand and walks backwards in front of the coffin, but in Ningpo he simply turns at intervals and kow-tows before it. On arrival at a bridge the crying of the mourners increases in intensity. In Peking the procession is accompanied by immense quantities of paper goods, including men, horses, carriages, chairs, opium, tobacco, flowers, birds, beasts, and furniture of all sorts, intended for the comfort of the departed in the spirit-world.

When the place of burial is reached, the coffin is temporarily supported by a couple of blocks, the streamers placed at the head, and the wands propped up at the foot, whilst the exact location is being considered, with special reference to the points of the compass. When this is ascertained,

the coffin is placed in position, and perhaps a brick vault built over it, or a straw or matting case put upon it. In wealthy families a stone receptacle is prepared beforehand, and the coffin laid very carefully in the exact centre, the son having first removed his inner vest, without divesting himself of his other garments, and carefully dusted the interior of the sarcophagus. The vest is presented to the mason standing by. A bonfire is then lighted in the vault, and paper-money charms, together with sesamum seeds and "hundred sons' crackers," are burned in it. The coffin is rolled in on a couple of bamboo rollers, and a meal is laid out, to which the deceased and also the denizens of the neighbouring tombs are invited. The mourners' headdresses and cinctures are then burnt, with a lot of paper money, and the streamers and staves are left at the grave. All present then set up a cry; the stone door of the tomb is placed in position and the tomb sealed. The headstone is then set up, bearing the names of the deceased, with the date of erection. The mourners then join hands and perform a sort of "merry-go-round" about the tomb, which is repeated three days later. The procession returns in the same order as before, escorting the ancestral tablet to the home with crying and burnings.

On arrival at the house a great bonfire is made outside the door, and all who have attended the funeral are expected to step across it before gaining the threshold; no one is exempted. (In

Shaohing a little water is sprinkled over each person by the Taoist priests. This process, through fire and water, was an universal practice with the Romans.) The tablet is placed at the side of the hall, and, at the place where the coffin had rested, a weighing-beam is discovered, with a bag fastened to the hook. This had been placed on the spot as soon as the coffin was moved, and the sack suggests a punning reference to a long line of descendants, the word for *sack* and *generation* being similar in sound. On each side of the beam, but a little in front, are placed two chairs, and, in front of these, tables set close together, on which is spread a meal for the twenty-four or forty-eight ancestors, and another meal is placed before the tablet of the new ancestor, who occupies an inferior place at the side of the hall. The son, in (lighter) mourning garments of blue, kneels and offers the viands prepared, and burns a quantity of paper money. He then climbs by a ladder to the ancestral shrine over the central partition, lights candles before each shrine, and then carries up the new tablet and places it in position, on the right side, if the new ancestor is a male, or the left side if a female, while the gongs are loudly beaten below in the hall. All present are then invited to partake of the feast. (In Shaohing the tablet is kept in the hall, and "invited" twice a day by the daughter-in-law, until the end of the seventh week, when it is placed in the ancestral shrine. The feast above referred to is not spread until the first day after the funeral.)

On the third day a visit is paid to the tomb, and provisions, candles, etc., carried thither, together with a sort of hive or crate composed of fourteen upright ribs of bamboo joined together at the top and fastened to a wide rim at the base; on twelve of the ribs is written one of the twelve horary characters, and on the remaining two, one on either side, the characters for *sun* and *moon* respectively. This structure is placed on the tomb or coffin whilst the offerings are being made, the spirit being supposed to take its place therein, and, after the offering is finished, the crate is burned, with a quantity of paper money. All present then join hands, forming a ring round the grave, circle round in one direction three times, and then reverse three times; this is with the idea of confining the spirit in his proper habitat. The party then returns home.

On the seventh day a number of Taoists are hired, seven in all, to "open the road," and a great variety of ceremonies take place on this day, morning, afternoon, and evening. One of the most interesting of these is "Walking the Fairy Bridge," as it is called, consisting of a bridge composed of tables and chairs, over which an effigy of the deceased is assisted to move. Another function, known as "Treading the Cardinal Points," is performed by a Taoist who, with wild gesticulations and flourishing a sword, spouts water from his mouth, and makes wild rushes in different directions, followed by the chief mourner, who simulates the dead taking

advantage of the openings thus presented to him. There is also the "Treading the Eight Diagrams,' which consists in a complicated series of movements, supposed to be based upon the principles of the "eight diagrams," which are believed to be an effective protection against all noxious influences. The ceremony of untying the knots, referred to above, takes place on this evening, at Shaohing, and also the ceremony of "cursing the dogs." This is done by the priests, who curse all the dogs in the neighbourhood, mentioning them particularly, "Brown's dog," "Jones's dog," "Robinson's dog," dogs of all colours and kinds, and dogs exhibiting various deformities, and ending by addressing the crowd of bystanders to the effect that they, too, are a pack of dogs. This ceremony is connected with the idea of the "Bad Dog Village."

On the evening of this day the hall is again arranged, a table and chair being carefully placed in position, a portrait of the deceased hanging behind the chair. Two cups of tea are put on the table, and two bowls of light food, together with candles and incense. The daughter-in-law weeps before the picture as she "invites" the spirit to partake of refreshment, and a quantity of paper money is also burned. The lights are then put out, and the family retires. At daylight, tea, etc., is laid as before. At breakfast-time, food of different kinds is offered, and candles lighted. The performance is repeated at noon, with this difference, that the viands are more elaborate. This takes place every "week" until the seventh,

the only exception being that in the fifth week a further spread is made in the death-chamber. If it should happen that throughout the seven "weeks" the first day in every case should fail to fall upon a day of the month containing the figure seven, then a special extra day must be set apart and a meal offered. The odd "weeks" are known as the great "weeks"—*i.e.* the first, third, fifth, seventh—and on the first of each of these weeks the relatives make presents of small loaves, numbering forty from each person, this quantity being supposed to last the spirit for one year, and so he is provided for as many years as he possesses relations. In wealthy families bonzes and Taoists are hired to conduct these proceedings.

In the fifth "week" Taoists are called to "Force the City," or "Force the Gate of Hell." A paper city with men, horses, etc., is set up, and, when night comes, a Taoist priest in full robes breaks through the city with the sword he carries, and liberates the imprisoned soul; afterwards a great bonfire is made in the open air, and three or four priests take their stand around it, holding long bamboos to which are attached elaborate "fire-works." They wave these over the fire, and soon the outer covering in each case bursts, and a beautiful fish or other object unfolds itself out of the packet. This, too, is exposed in turn to the fire, and shrivels up, revealing some other lovely shape, and so on, until at last the effigies of the dead are exposed, and these are carried to the house and given to the chief mourner.

In the sixth "week" the daughters are expected to provide a feast for the dead, and they are given a share in the division of the clothing which he has left.

At the end of the seventh "week" the chief mourner is allowed to shave his hair for the first time; but if the coffin has not yet been removed, he is not permitted to do so until one hundred days have expired.

The next year the mourners, wearing white garments, pay their first annual visit to the grave on the day known as "Clear Bright" ("Ts'ing-ming"), and on this day the sounds of wailing are heard in all directions. A small sum, of one hundred cash or so, and a gift of food, are given to the hillmen for looking after the grave. A further visit is sometimes paid in the ninth moon, and at the winter solstice paper garments, representing warm winter clothes, are presented and burnt.

On the night appointed for the return of the spirit, a table of eatables is laid in the death-chamber, which is then evacuated by the relatives. In the kitchen a quantity of lime is placed beneath and around the fireplace. When the hour arrives, as announced by the Taoist priest, a procession is formed, the priest leading, and all enter the chamber; the kitchen is then visited, and the lime examined, and the traces of the spirit's presence are discovered by the marks, as of the feet of a goose, upon the lime. The story is told that on one occasion all had retired with the exception of an old woman-servant, who was

some time after heard crying out loudly for help; and when the family re-entered the apartment, she reported that she had seen a creature, the size of a large dog and like a monkey in semblance, which jumped on the table and began to devour the eatables. On perceiving her the creature jumped down again and began to attack her, hence her loud cries for help, which penetrated to the outside and brought the family together—too late, indeed, to see the creature, which had disappeared as mysteriously as it had come. A white cock is caught, and carried in one hand in front of a basket-lid, and, as the lid is struck by a measure held in the other hand, the cock is made to crow; he is thus escorted outside, and paper money burnt. This represents the despatch of the spirit's escort, and the spirit is said to suffer for the uncivil treatment offered to his attendant if this is not done. A white cock is said to be a protection against baneful astral influences, and to be the only capable guide of transient spirits.

In this connection one is reminded of a custom observed by modern Jews—viz. the substitution of a cock for the scape-goat as a means of expiation. The sins of the offerer are said to be transferred to the entrails of the fowl, and these are exposed upon the house-top, to be carried away by birds of the air.

This is but an outline of the more general customs which are observed on funeral occasions. To give details of all the ceremonies which appertain to the several classes of society, the rich

and poor, the official and the civilian; and the modern monstrosities such as are observable in Shanghai and elsewhere, would require a much longer chapter, and, in fact, a whole book could be easily written on the subject. Unless where the contrary is expressly indicated, the ceremonies described obtain in the circles of the great middle class.

XXVI

TREATIES AND CHRISTIANITY

A FEW notes on the subject of the treaties which have been entered into by China and the great Western Powers, and the rights which are enjoyed in consequence by the subjects of those Powers, more especially the missionary representatives, seem to be not only a suitable topic with which to close this volume, but also highly desirable, as explaining the basis upon which our relations with the Chinese are established.

It will not be necessary to inquire into the conditions underlying the intercourse of earlier days, or to trace out the historical development of commercial and other relations which seem to have existed from the beginning of the Christian era; it may suffice to say that, although representatives of other nations had been permitted to trade with China, and even, in some cases, to reside permanently in the country as early as the sixth century, it was not until ten centuries later that diplomatic relations, of a sporadic character, with Europe began to prepare the way for more

permanent intercourse on lines laid down and secured by treaty.

After long experience of Europeans in China during the thirteenth, sixteenth, and following centuries, when they were sometimes tolerated and sometimes highly favoured, with intervals of persecution and ostracism, the Emperor Tao Kwang, as late as 1840, published an edict to the effect that "all persons suspected of contamination with Christian beliefs and practices should be required to trample upon a cross," after the manner of the Japanese with their Dutch visitors in early days. This was "the beginning of the end"; henceforth the position of the Europeans in China was to be established upon a more certain foundation than the capriciousness of Chinese potentates, and to be defined with increasing particularity and breadth of treatment as time went on.

In the space of two years—*i.e.* in 1842—the first British treaty with China was signed at Nanking on August 29th, the first article of which stipulated that the respective subjects of her Majesty the Queen and his Majesty the Emperor of China should "*enjoy full security and protection for their persons and property within the dominions of the other.*" This was the first step in the long succession of treaties which followed, and, on account of the violation of these conditions on the part of the Chinese, succeeding enactments defined more and more particularly the persons intended to protect and the rights which were claimed. The history of treaties may,

in fact, form a parallel with that of the Creeds, and present a record of successive transgressions and readjustments.

This treaty of 1842 is the real charter of missionary and commercial liberty in China, since by it are promised equal rights for the subjects of the respective Empires involved, without distinction of persons or professions. By virtue of this treaty missionaries were as free to travel, to reside, and to propagate their doctrines in China, as Chinese philosophers would be to disseminate the principles of Confucianism in Great Britain—a right which was distinctly claimed by Lord Napier in 1834, when he proposed "to open better-understood relations with the Court of Peking by a demand upon the Emperor to allow the same privileges to all foreigners residing in China which Chinese received in foreign countries." This proposal of Lord Napier is of great importance as showing what was the original intention of the British representatives in their demands upon China. I do not mean by this that the Chinese ever intended to admit such an extension of the article in question, but they undoubtedly pledged themselves thereby to reciprocal treatment of British subjects. It was in their subsequent action that they betrayed their determined unwillingness to allow any advantage to be derived from the promises they had made, beyond those commercial relations which they found themselves unable to disannul or disavow. It may be argued that the liberty thus guaranteed was conditioned by the article

(No. 2) which followed, permitting "British subjects, with their families and establishments," to reside at the five treaty ports named; but this, as is distinctly stated, was "for the purpose of carrying on their mercantile pursuits," and was intended to protect the Chinese from indiscriminate landing of foreign commodities at other ports, where no arrangements had as yet been made for levying "just duties and other dues"; for, without such a proviso, China would have been put at a great disadvantage as compared with England, where the introduction of Chinese goods was provided for at the various ports by already established laws and regulations. The right of British subjects to travel to all parts of the interior, though implied in the first clause of the Treaty of Nanking, which was the necessary corollary of the historic fact of diplomatic and commercial relations long established, was not, however, fully admitted by the Chinese until it had been specially stipulated, in the Treaty of Tientsin which followed (in 1858), and which provided for the issue of consular passports in cases of extended journeys, thus making it possible to carry out in fact what had already been established in principle sixteen years before.

In this first treaty we may observe that no distinctive rights were claimed for the missionaries as such (although in subsequent proceedings the Chinese drew a sharp line of demarcation between missionaries and merchants, denying to the latter what they had conceded to the

former—*i.e.* the right to travel in the interior), and no reference was made to Religion; it was reserved for a French diplomatist, Monsieur Lagrené, to obtain formal recognition of the Christian religion, and protection for its professors by the Treaty of Whampoa. This was in 1844, and the Imperial Commissioner, Kiying, in his memorial to the throne on the subject, mentioned distinctly, with regard to Christianity, that "since its introduction to China during the Ming dynasty it has never been interdicted," but the right of penetrating into the interior in the interests of religion or commerce (already implied by the treaty of 1842, but rendered a dead-letter by the Chinese, and tacitly waived by the Foreign Ministers) was now distinctly negatived by Imperial Decree dated December 28th, 1844. In a subsequent decree, published in February, 1846, it was again expressly stated that "foreigners of every nation are . . . prohibited from going into the country to propagate religion." It was not until 1858 that the deliberate policy which the Chinese authorities had adopted, with a view to isolating themselves from all connection with foreigners, was definitely invaded by the treaty of Tientsin, which contained some features of very great importance, and gave evidence of the conviction on the part of the treaty-makers that their demands upon China must no longer be conveyed in general terms, but in express stipulations which would not admit the exercise of the Chinese talent for evasion and subterfuge. The several representatives of the four great Powers

involved—viz. Great Britain, France, Russia, and America—addressed letters to the "Inner Council at Peking," stating their requirements; "that of the Russian Minister was peculiar in bringing forward the desirableness of allowing the profession of Christianity to all natives desirous of embracing it"; and Lord Elgin, the British representative, was approached by a deputation of British missionaries on a similar subject. It was rumoured at the time that the Emperor (Hsien Feng) had intended to interdict the propagation of Christianity, but refrained from doing so out of regard for the four great nations interested in its extension; but, on the other hand, the American Minister, the Hon. W. B. Reed, is reported to have said that the clause in question was "brought forward and encouraged by the Chinese themselves."

The treaties were signed in the following order: viz. that with Russia on June 13th; with the United States on the 18th; with England on the 26th; and with France on the 27th. In the Russian and French treaties were inserted clauses permitting missionaries to "move about in the interior"; and in the Convention concluded by the French Ambassador, Baron Gros, on October 25th, 1860, Article VI. reads: "It shall be promulgated throughout the length and breadth of the land, in the terms of the Imperial Edict of February 20th, 1846, that it is permitted to all people in all parts of China to propagate and practice the teaching of the Lord of Heaven, to meet together for the preaching of the

doctrine, to build churches, and to worship," etc One clause of great importance was, however, omitted from the French original—viz. the right to *procure land* in the interior; for, although this permission was necessarily implied in the right to *build*, which was already conceded, and such a right would have been negatived if the acquisition of land were to be denied the prospective builders, it was not surprising that the Chinese should take advantage of the *impasse*, and render the permission to build nugatory by denying the right of obtaining land for the purpose.

In the Chinese copy of the treaty, translated by Père Delamere, of the Société des Missions Étrangères, this complementary clause was, however, discovered: "It is, in addition, permitted to French missionaries to rent and purchase land in all the provinces, and to erect buildings thereon at pleasure." As the French version had been accepted as the authoritative standard, this insertion might have been properly repudiated by the Chinese; but for whatever reason, whether failure to observe the discrepancy, or to appreciate its full significance, or because the Chinese representatives were quite content to be let off so cheaply, and did not venture to call attention to an omission which would necessarily have been made good; with the possible result of a more stringent insistence upon the building clause, with all that it involved; no exception was taken to the additional clause thus inserted, and it was quoted by Sir Rutherford Alcock, in his

memorandam to Prince Kung in 1868, as an integral part of the French treaty. The benefits so acquired were extended under the "most favoured nation" clause to the other treaty-making Powers. The right to purchase land was not only acknowledged by the Chinese in subsequent years, but was further extended by a Convention in 1865, through the efforts of the French Minister, M. Berthemy, to admit of such purchase taking place *without reference to the local authorities.* This concession was, however, allowed to fall in abeyance by some means; and in 1871 the Tsung-li Yamen insisted that the local mandarins should be consulted in all such cases, and the most arbitrary regulations were suggested, which not only rendered it practically impossible for foreigners to obtain any foothold in the interior, but were the direct occasion of the long series of riots and disturbances which marked the succeeding years. The Chinese claim was apparently admitted by the British Minister, Sir Thomas Wade, who, in a circular addressed to H.M. Consuls in China, deprecated the extension of consular assistance in the acquisition of land or premises "at points at which the treaty, as it is understood by H.M. Government, does not give British subjects the right to hold them," thereby implying that British subjects should confine themselves to the neighbourhood of the Treaty Ports. The British Government thus confirmed the *volte-face* of the Tsung-li Yamen, and the Berthemy Convention was rendered a dead-letter, until May, 1895,

when it was unearthed by M. Gerard, the French Minister at Peking, and enforced by instructions issued by the Yamen.

Thus after a period of two hundred and fifty years of constant and intimate association with representatives of Christianity, the Chinese were prevailed upon to confirm, by formal treaty with the foreign Powers, the grant of full toleration and freedom to that religion and its professors, and to make that toleration of practical effect by the various concessions in respect of travel, residence, property-holding, etc., without which its terms would have been rendered null and void.

It is of the utmost importance to remember that, from the Chinese point of view, this toleration was granted *independently of the Treaties*, which only confirmed what had been already definitely allowed by Imperial rescript. The Chinese authorities more than once expressly declared that this was the case. (*Cf.* the Imperial Commissioner Kiying, already quoted, and the Imperial Edict of 1846, which is referred to in the French treaty of 1860 as the authoritative basis of toleration.) The history of the case is thus stated in a memorial to the Emperor presented by representatives of Protestant Missions in 1895 : " This toleration of Christianity, which had been granted by so many Emperors of different dynasties, was at length, by the consent of the Emperor Hsien Feng, in the eighth year of his reign, incorporated in the treaties made at that time with four great nations of the West."

This is a precise statement of the matter as the Chinese would desire to represent it.

It will not be necessary to concern ourselves with the various treaties which followed, and the manner in which the several European nations took advantage of the privileges afforded by the Treaty of Tientsin; but there are one or two later documents which require consideration, in which the toleration, already granted, was more fully developed in the case of Chinese converts and foreign propagandists.

In 1862 an Imperial Edict was issued, by virtue of which Chinese Christians were absolved from making contributions towards the support of temples and theatrical performances, and were allowed the full exercise of their religious rites; and in 1881 another Edict announced that the privileges already extended to Roman Catholics applied equally to Protestant missionaries and converts.

Now, it is important to notice that although the above-mentioned treaties with the foreign Powers were negotiated, and the terms thereof published by Imperial Edicts, the laws of the land meanwhile remained unchanged for many subsequent years; and that, whilst intolerant edicts were countermanded from time to time, the "Sacred Edict"—with which the people are supposed to be most familiar, and which is ordered to be read aloud in public twice a month—still retained the objectionable clauses, which classed Christianity with heretical and revolutionary sects deserving the reprobation of every good citizen. And, as

the French Minister pointed out to the Tsung-li Yamen in 1895, an edition published in 1890 still contained the clauses, prohibiting Christianity, which had been abrogated by treaty in 1858—*i.e.* thirty-two years before. The excuse was made that this edition was privately printed, and should not therefore be charged against the Government; but as private editions of the Chinese standards of law and morality are the rule rather than the exception, it is more than possible that such unamended publications are still in circulation, and continue to be regarded as the law of the land, superior to tentative enactments such as edicts and proclamations, which are frequently equivocal in expression, and may be intended to convey to the initiated a sense diametrically opposite to that of the actual wording. And this method of rendering ineffective the concessions extorted by fear or favour has been exemplified in other and later instances (*cf.* the Chinese "Blue Books," extending over a long period of years and certified by the Viceroys and highest officials; and the "Hunan Books," containing scandalous travesties of Christianity, which continue to be published and openly sold, bearing the imprimatur of the greatest names in the country, in spite of the repeated assurances of the Tsung-li Yamen to the British Minister that they had been already entirely suppressed).

A quotation from a Chinese author may here be *apropos*: "From the Imperial point of view, the treaties entered upon between the Son of Heaven and the foreign Powers are agreements

dictated by superior force, and therefore liable at any moment to be set at naught. The privileges claimed by foreigners are embodied in the various treaties, but it is very questionable if the high mandarins ever study these documents; in fact, it is doubtful if some of the treaties are to be found in Peking. . . . Moreover, the treaties have never appeared in the official Gazette, and it is very unlikely that the originals are still to be found in the Government archives. The Manchus look upon the treaties as evidence of the national humiliation, and have been very unwilling to force the natives to study them; while the Chinese consider that they are not parties to any agreement made between the foreigners and the Manchus without their knowledge or acquiescence" ("The Chinese Crisis from Within," 1901).

A word, in conclusion, with regard to the circumstances under which these treaties were enacted. It is frequently remarked that Christianity was forced upon China "at the point of the bayonet," and a certain feeling of injustice done to China is created by this unhappy expression. In one sense it may be said that Christianity was forced upon a section of the Chinese which did not want it, and it would have been difficult for them to decline the terms proposed by their conquerors; but it should be remembered that the Chinese themselves, as has been shown above, have denied that the toleration of Christianity in China under the treaties was a new departure; and it may be said that the bayonet was never unsheathed to coerce the

Chinese into accepting Christianity. As Lord Granville well declares, "The powers of the treaty have never been invoked to further the propagation of Christianity, but only to redress wrongs." And if, as is admitted, there was a section of the Chinese people inimical to Christianity, it may also be fairly urged that there was another section of the Chinese people—*i.e.* the Christian converts—to whom the toleration of Christianity was a matter of life and death.

The wars which preceded and led up to the treaties did not arise out of, and, in fact, had no connection with, missionary propaganda, but were occasioned by the proud exclusiveness, and arbitrary conduct of Chinese officials, towards the persons and property of the representatives and subjects of foreign Powers; and the inclusion of Christianity as a subject for legislation was but one of many topics which demanded settlement in order to avoid misunderstandings in the future. The foreign ambassadors rightly considered that the work of Christian missionaries in the past, and the interests of the converts they had gained, could not be overlooked in an arrangement which was intended to further harmonious relations between the respective countries represented.

These foreign teachers and their disciples had been outrageously treated from time to time in the past, and the honour of their respective countries was assailed by the attitude which China had deliberately adopted towards them. The Chinese authorities delighted to demonstrate

to "the myriad people" how great was the superiority of the "Central Kingdom" to the "Barbarian" tribes on her frontier, and it was necessary that such an intolerable condition of things should cease; for the imputation of barbarism, thus applied to the missionaries, and the express declarations of the baseness and vileness of Christianity, would not stop with them, but would be extended by implication to merchants, to ambassadors, and even to the "most Christian Queen" whose representatives they were, making the continuance of commercial and diplomatic relations, on equal terms, practically impossible. The persons of her Majesty's representatives, however humble, must be respected; and the religion which they held to be of Divine appointment must be uplifted from the humiliating conditions which environed it. Lord Napier's claim for reciprocal treatment was a just one, though, at the moment, impossible of immediate fulfilment; and the attitude of China towards Christianity was but a phase of that arrogant assumption of supremacy which, by too long acquiescence on the part of the foreign Powers, was the cause of the disabilities and restrictions under which British commerce and international intercourse, to say nothing of religion, had laboured, and which required to be decidedly dealt with, once and for all, in the interests of commerce, religion, and civilisation generally.

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Printed by Hazell, Watson & Viney, Ld., London and Aylesbury.

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"Ways that are dark"; some chapters on
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